

National Civic Review

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Volume XLIX, No. 9

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To S. F. Growth



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Conference Speakers Chosen

Noted public officials and business, civic and educational leaders will speak at the 66th National Conference on Government, which will be held November 13 to 16 at the Hotel Westward Ho in Phoenix, Arizona.

Mayor de Lesseps S. Morrison of New Orleans, former president of the American Municipal Association, will be the speaker at the luncheon Monday, November 14, which will be co-sponsored by the Phoenix Kiwanis Club.

U. S. Senator Alan Bible of Nevada, who is chairman of the Joint Committee on Washington Metropolitan Problems, will be the speaker at the luncheon Tuesday, November 15, which will be co-sponsored by the Phoenix Ad Club.

Alfred E. Driscoll, president, Warner-Lambert Pharmaceutical Company, and former governor of New Jersey, who was a leader in the revision of his state's constitution, will be the speaker at the luncheon Wednesday, November 16, which will be co-sponsored by the Phoenix Hiram Club.

These and scores of other speakers, panelists and discussants will deal with aspects of the Conference theme, "The Citizen's Dilemma in the Web of Governments."

This year's Conference is the first of a series of three based on the general theme "American System: Web of Governments" and designed to develop popular understanding of the complex pattern of intergovernmental relationships

which characterizes the American governmental system.

General sessions each morning and workshop sessions in the afternoons will

(Continued on next page)

Tours Are Planned For Conference-goers

In addition to seeing how "the fastest growing city" has expanded services and controlled costs, those attending the 66th National Conference on Government in Phoenix will have an opportunity to enjoy some of the distinctive wonders of the southwest.

Post-Conference tours at reasonable rates have been arranged by the local committee for those who wish to linger in the Arizona sun.

One tour—of Grand Canyon and Oak Creek Canyon—will cost \$21.60. This tour will include travel, guides and lodging.

Another, the one-day Apache Trail tour, including travel and guide, will cost \$11.

A one-day trip to Nogales, Mexico, including travel and guide, will cost \$8.80.

The tours will cost slightly more if less than 30 reservations are made.

Entertainment during the Conference will be planned and supervised by the Dons Club. It will include a tour of the Valley of the Sun, a chuckwagon dinner and lively western-style entertainment

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Conference Speakers Chosen

(Continued from previous page)

seek ways to meet the unusual demands this system makes upon the well intentioned citizen.

United States Senator Barry Goldwater will welcome the Conference to Phoenix and will entertain the League's officers and their wives. Senator Goldwater has been a League regional vice president since he was elected to the Phoenix city council during a dramatic reform movement. William Collins, League president, will respond.

director, Institute of Traffic and Transportation Engineering, University of California, Berkeley; and Joseph B. Fisher, president, Resources for the Future, Inc.

The Tuesday general session will deal with the various roles of the citizen and his involvement in the political process at the several levels of government. Four speakers will discuss four strategic ways in which the citizen acts. Ivan Hinderacker, chairman of the Department of Political Science, University of California, Los Angeles, and former assistant to the Secretary of the Interior, will describe how the citizen acts as party



William Collins



Frank Bane



Luther H. Gulick



Frank C. Moore



John B. Gage

Through the series of Conferences and other aspects of its program, the National Municipal League is cooperating with the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations. Frank Bane, chairman of the commission and former director of the Council of State Governments and secretary of the Governors' Conference, will be chairman of the opening session the morning of November 14.

This session will clarify the fact that many major public services are dependent on not one but all levels of government. Speakers at this session will be Brooks Hays, director of the Tennessee Valley Authority and former congressman from Arkansas; Harmer Davis,

politician. Harold S. Shefelman of Seattle, president of the American Society of Planning Officials and former president of the Municipal League of Seattle and King County, will discuss the citizen as civic leader. David R. Brower, director, The Sierra Club, San Francisco, will analyze the role of the lobbyist. Congressman Stewart L. Udall of Arizona will describe the citizen's role as office holder. John B. Gage, former mayor of Kansas City, Missouri, will chair the discussion.

The general session Wednesday morning will review official efforts to explain relationships among the levels and units of government and thus aid the citizen

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Editorial Comment

Still Searching After 30 Years

THE rapid growth of metropolitan regions has been one of the conspicuous political phenomena of the twentieth century. Its implications were early grasped by city planning engineers who realized that matters of transportation, traffic, water and sewerage paid little respect to local political boundaries. Their efforts have borne fruit in the regional planning movement which ignores old municipal boundary lines as being frequently arbitrary and obsolete.

But to be of value plans must be executed. The loose clusters of municipal units which for the most part today provide what government there is for extensive regions are impotent to give reality to the visions of planners. For this reason both city planners and political scientists are united in recognizing the challenge which a new time makes to our historic situation. A German official visiting the United States several years ago expressed surprise because he had heard no complaints regarding the complicated network and variety of overlapping and piecemeal jurisdictions which he found in our urban regions. Today, however, such complaints are beginning to be heard and methods are beginning to be developed to end the chaos.

Although the 1930 census returns are yet incomplete as to the present size and character of metropolitan regions, enough has been released to demonstrate the manner in which population is distributing itself about our large cities. That there has been an accelerated increase in population in the suburbs and newer communities in the metropolitan areas is clear. The central city's environs are now growing more rapidly than the city itself. . . . The task confronting our urban population is one of political reconstruction calling for high statesmanship and sound political wisdom.

This appraisal of population growth and governmental organization in metropolitan areas sounds familiar. The comments on the 1930 census returns apply with equal accuracy to the 1960 census. These paragraphs appeared in the Foreword to *The Government of Metropolitan Areas*, published by the National Municipal League in 1930. Prepared by Paul Studenski for the League's Committee on Metropolitan Government, this report of three decades ago was the first comprehensive account of metropolitan area governmental problems in the United States.

One of the principal participants in the committee's work was Thomas H. Reed, who through numerous local surveys has contributed much to the solution of metropolitan problems in many areas, notably in Atlanta and Baton Rouge. He has frequently voiced discouragement, however, with the slow pace at which local government has responded to these problems. In 1941, commenting on developments in the decade following publication of the 1930 report, he pointed out that "progress in solving the problems which arise from the maladjustment of the areas of local government to the needs of metropolitan communities has been insignificant."¹

In an address before the League's 1950 National Conference on Government, Dr. Reed noted that a metropolitan newspaper had coined

¹ *City Growing Pains*, National Municipal League, New York, 1941, page 7.

the word "suburbanitis" to describe the disease crippling cities and their suburbs but emphasized that although the name was new the disease was not:

"Students of municipal administration have been recording and analyzing its symptoms and suggesting means for its cure for a generation. . . . City planners and political scientists . . . have poured out millions of words . . . on the same theme, but frankness requires me to say that so far we have accomplished little more than a world's record for words used in proportion to cures effected. This appears like a pretty sorry performance. Can it be improved? I think it can. . . . I am confident that as we have solved so many other problems of organization and procedure in local government, in spite of the intense opposition of the politicians and the deadening pessimism of the public, we shall in good time—not too far off—conquer suburbanitis."²

Speaking again before a League Conference, Dr. Reed in 1958 still could not point to substantial progress. He stressed, however: "We are not going to be able to solve the metropolitan problem on a purely local-option basis. . . . The states must provide a means of bringing about metropolitan integration which cannot be thwarted by the penny-wise opposition of a local clique or wrecked on the shoals of suburban particularism."³

The 1960 census results are again dramatizing the need for measures

adequate to solve metropolitan problems. Much more than in 1930, "transportation, traffic, water and sewerage" are matters of serious concern. Will the states heed the bidding of Dr. Reed and others and provide governmental tools which can do the job?

We are still searching for "high statesmanship and sound political wisdom." Along with new studies which hopefully will develop new insights into metropolitan problems, it is useful to consider the words of those active in the same vineyard 30 years ago. We have noted a few of the observations of Dr. Reed and will watch with interest his reactions to the 1960 urban scene.

* * *

In this issue appears the first of a two-part series by Dr. Paul Studenski, who prepared the 1930 report. The summary of the conclusions of that 1930 report (reprinted herewith) has striking relevance for 1960:

. . . Seven types of organization or readjustment of metropolitan government thus far proposed and attempted have been examined—intermunicipal cooperation and exchange of services, consolidation and annexation under a unitary form of government, city-county consolidation and separation, expansion of county government, special metropolitan commissions, the New York borough plan and the federated region or city. What are the final conclusions as to the relative merits of these plans and the possibility of the ultimate solution of the problem of metropolitan organization? They may be summarized as follows:

1. There can be no single answer to the problem of metropolitan organization, applicable to all conditions and times. Each region must be studied separately

² See the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, December 1950, page 542.

³ See the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, December 1958, page 546.

and an organization devised for it which will meet its peculiar situation.

2. The different types of organization or readjustment so far proposed are not always mutually exclusive. They supplement each other to a large degree. The federal plan of regional organization may adequately meet the needs of the metropolitan area as a whole and particularly so far as the more loosely connected territories are concerned. On the other hand, consolidation or annexation, under either a unitary plan or a borough form of government such as that of New York City, may be the solution for the more closely knit sections of the territory. A reexamination of the status and functions of the county will be necessary. Where county boundary lines coincide with those of the region the county government, revamped and modernized, may serve as the foundation on which to build a regional organization. In other cases, in which the region covers two or more counties, the county may be preserved as a constituent part of a federated government, its historic rôle being modified in accordance with the demands of a new situation. On the other hand, where homogeneous urban conditions have developed and the need for it has passed, it may be found desirable to eliminate the county entirely as a self-conscious unit.

* * *

3. Comprehensive metropolitan government may be brought into existence without causing a complete extinction of minor local governments in a metropolitan territory. We may expect considerable experimentation in the near future with various plans for federated or dual metropolitan government.

4. The problem will never be solved so long as public leaders confine themselves to individual improvement projects, forgetful of the need for comprehensive improvement and service programs. Special metropolitan commissions may continue to be useful expedients or makeshifts dur-

ing the present transitional period, but they cannot be expected to afford permanent relief.

5. Nor will the problem be solved so long as politicians and civic leaders think of the region as being primarily a congeries of local political units, and adhere to an exaggerated and bigoted view of home rule for which they find confirmation in ill-conceived constitutional provisions. Properly conceived home rule does not confer a right to perpetual existence as a separate political entity when common interests demand that the smaller locality be absorbed into a larger political community. Nor is it a right of a division to do as it pleases and to shut itself in, within its small confines, against the world outside. In the sphere of metropolitan relations, it should not be the right of any subdivision to obstruct any metropolitan development or project which does not suit its taste.

6. The present chaos in many metropolitan areas is a summons to a broader view and higher statesmanship than has generally been displayed. The state and even the nation as a whole are concerned in the proper governmental organization and development of the great metropolitan regions. These larger interests cannot be sacrificed to the inertia or selfish interests of the smaller political divisions of that region. In the last analysis even state boundary lines will not be able to bar the rational treatment of regional difficulties.

7. The work here presented is merely an introduction to far more comprehensive studies which the subjects will undoubtedly receive in the future. Scholars of distinction will furnish new facts and new speculations. Local researchers will delve deeper into the minutiae of regional relationships. A knowledge of European experimentation and a willingness to adapt foreign successes to American soil will help, but in the last analysis the government of metropolitan areas constitutes a sturdy challenge to American political ingenuity.

Metropolitan Areas 1960

Bold federal, state action seen as necessary
to help solve increasingly difficult problems.

By PAUL STUDENSKI*

EDITOR'S NOTE.—This is the first of two articles on metropolitan area problems by Dr. Studenski. The second will appear in the REVIEW for November.

DURING the fifteen years which have elapsed since the end of World War II, and particularly during the 1950s, the populations of our metropolitan areas have grown tremendously. At the same time extensive shifts have taken place in the internal distribution of these populations as between the central city and its suburbs and also as between older and newer suburbs. Whereas in the outer sections of the areas population has generally increased rapidly, in the central parts it has either increased slowly or has declined.

These internal shifts have given rise to many new problems affecting the welfare of the metropolitan populations as well as aggravating older ones. Surveys into the nature of these problems and ways for handling them have usually been made by local research institutes; efforts have been made by local civic organizations to put the recommended actions into effect.

The treatments sought have generally taken one of the following three forms: (a) Concerted action on

the part of all the local governments in the area and of some of the state and federal agencies functioning therein, (b) vesting of additional administrative and financial powers in some existing government or agency in the area having a wide territorial jurisdiction, such as the county government or a metropolitan district authority or, (c) creation of some wholly new governmental entity vested with area-wide administrative powers.

At the same time, nation-wide studies have been instituted by national research organizations and by universities, frequently with the aid of grants from national foundations. At this moment a national survey of metropolitan areas by a federally-created commission is being instituted.¹ National conferences have been called to discuss the problem and magazines and newspapers have been filled with materials on the subject. Books have been published identifying the metropolitan area problem as one of the most crucial in the organization of our nation's social, economic and political life.

The term "metropolitan area problems" has been used in both past and current discussions to designate two types of problems differing widely in their nature: First, pro-

* Dr. Studenski is professor emeritus of economics at New York University. He is author of *The Income of Nations, Government of Metropolitan Areas, Financial History of the United States* (with H. E. Krooss) and other books as well as numerous articles in the fields of public finance and public administration.

¹ Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, established as a permanent agency under Public Law No. 86-380, 86th Congress, 1st Session. Frank Bane is chairman.

vision for the urban and suburban populations of a needed common service or facility—the supply of water, disposal of wastes, public parks and beaches or some other such thing; second, unification of government in a metropolitan area for the care of all common major needs of its urban and suburban population in a coordinated manner. These two types are often confused. To avoid any misunderstanding we shall refer to the one as “particular service problems” and to the other as “basic organizational problems.”

Despite tremendous local and national civic and research endeavors of the past ten or more years to find and institute proper solutions for metropolitan area problems, results have been meager. Concerted action by local governments has seldom gone beyond occasional or periodic consultations among officials on some common problems. Intermunicipal cooperation has generally been limited to contracts between two or three localities to construct and use jointly some particular facility, or to an agreement on the part of one of them—generally the central city or the county—to sell water or some other service to other local governments in the area. In some areas, a new district authority or corporation has been created to handle a particular undertaking or some new function has been added to county government.

But any proposal for a major integration in a metropolitan area has been either discarded during the initial stages of discussion, or lost in the state legislature, or defeated by some of the communities in a vote held pursuant to a law passed by the legislature. By and large,

organization of metropolitan areas has continued to be just as chaotic as it was before the eruption of this new activity and basic problems have remained unresolved.

Why have the results of these endeavors been so meager? What changes in approach should be made to assure greater progress? How much time do we have to initiate needed steps?

* * *

Far too many studies of metropolitan area problems lack historical perspective and for this reason fail to provide accurate diagnoses and adequate solutions of these problems. Far too often they treat old problems as if they were new and prescribe solutions which have been tried in similar situations and found ineffective. Far too often, too, these studies treat problems separately as if they were wholly unrelated to each other, whereas they have common roots and should be treated jointly as different manifestations of the difficulty.

A historical analysis of the organizational problems of metropolitan areas can do much to clarify their nature. It reveals, first of all, that most of these problems originate in a basic disparity between the disunified nature of the political and administrative organization of such an area and its relatively unified social and economic structure characterized by the existence of common social and economic needs which demand for their satisfaction a unified political and administrative action. In other words, the difficulties originate in the inability of the political and administrative part of the metropolitan organism to attend to the

needs of its social and economic part. The typical metropolitan area is shown, like Janus, to possess two faces and personalities and to live a disharmonious life.

Such an analysis also reveals that metropolitan area problems become most acute during periods of rapid growth and changes in our economy, which occur every twenty to thirty years. It is during these periods that citizen groups, often in the face of the reluctance or even active opposition of local officials, try to bring about some rearrangement in the political and administrative organization of their areas which would permit the solution of some of their urgent service problems.

Finally, such a broad historical analysis discloses that the present active concern with metropolitan area problems is but one of such periodic upsurges of public interest and civic activity in that field and that, while being related to similar upturns in the past, it has peculiar features of its own and calls for action peculiar to the time.

* * *

During the approximately 110 years of the existence of metropolitan area problems in the United States there have been five periods of especially concentrated action: (1) The late 1840s and early 1850s, (2) the late 1860s and the early 1870s, (3) the 1890s and the opening of the new century, (4) the boom of the 1920s, and (5) the present period of post World War II business expansion and population growth.²

² For an analysis of developments up to 1930, see *Government of Metropolitan Areas*, Report Prepared by Paul Studenski, for a Committee of the National

During the first three periods and the years intervening, metropolitan area problems were solved mostly by annexation to the city of its suburban territory or by consolidation with it of suburban governments. The most spectacular cases were Philadelphia's consolidation of 1854, Pittsburgh's annexations of 1867 and 1907, Chicago's annexations of 1889 and New York City's consolidation of 1898.

Another expedient used during these early days was that of voluntary intermunicipal cooperation, involving contracts between the central city and some of its suburbs or neighboring smaller cities for the joint construction and operation of a bridge, a water supply, a sewage system, and for the sharing of the requisite expense, or for the sale by the central city to its suburbs of its excess water or excess capacity of its sewage disposal system. Perhaps the most notable example of such joint undertakings, organized voluntarily, was the construction of the Brooklyn Bridge by New York City and Brooklyn during the years 1874-1883.

On the whole, the instances of such joint undertakings were few because municipalities were seldom able to agree on terms by which they should be carried on. And such instances were generally not lasting.

A third expedient initiated and used extensively during these early periods was creation of state-appointed or locally-elected metropolitan district commissions for the administration of a service or con-

Municipal League, New York, 1930. For an account of more recent developments see the author's "Fiscal Headaches for Metropolitan Areas," *GRA Reporter*, Governmental Research Association, First Quarter, 1955.

struction and operation of a facility for the benefit of both the city and its suburbs. Beginning with the organization of metropolitan police, fire and sanitary district boards in the Philadelphia and New York areas in the 1850s, such metropolitan boards or commissions were established for various purposes in many other areas during succeeding decades. Outstanding were the Massachusetts metropolitan district commissions for water supply, sewage and parks established in the Boston area in the late 1880s and early 1890s.

This device was generally favored by the suburban governments because it provided them with the necessary services and facilities without depriving them of their independence. But it was accepted only reluctantly by the central cities, because it generally entailed their loss of control over the particular services. While taking care of the needs of the metropolitan community in the sphere of a particular function, this device left the needs of the community in other spheres unattended. It afforded, therefore, only a partial solution for metropolitan problems.

In the old urban areas during the past 40 years, annexations and consolidations have come to be used less frequently. Metropolitan areas have become too large to be administered by a single centralized government without at least the subsidiary help of local governments. Moreover, local governments have developed fairly effective services of their own and have proven their worth.

Intermunicipal cooperation, despite the emphasis placed upon it in recent times, has made even less headway during the last four decades than it

did earlier. Perhaps the most extensive use of this approach has been made in Los Angeles County, which furnishes to its localities a great variety of services under individually executed contracts. Another recent significant but less formal instance of intermunicipal cooperation is the establishment in 1957 of the New York Metropolitan Council as a body composed of the heads of 21 counties and fifteen cities in the New York tri-state metropolitan area, meeting periodically for purposes of discussion of common problems.

* * *

Metropolitan district commissions have continued to be used during the past 40 years, one of the most recent additions being the San Francisco Bay Area Rapid Transit Commission established in 1959. A new species of such single-function agencies was brought forward during this period, the "authority" or "corporation" operating as a public business undertaking without the use of any taxing powers. This type of agency is best exemplified by the Port of New York Authority created after World War I.

The next most favored expedient used during the past few decades has been the vesting of some metropolitan functions in the county containing the central city and all or a goodly portion of the latter's suburbs—social welfare, hospitals, health control, parks, sanitation and, of course, arterial road construction. This approach has been developed extensively in the Los Angeles area. It has led to attempts in some areas to convert the county into a federated city. Such an attempt was made but was defeated at its inception in

the Pittsburgh area in the late 1920s. A similar plan for the Cleveland area was rejected by the voters of Cuyahoga County in 1959.

The most notable instance of the use of the county as the base for a full-fledged metropolitan government is that in the Miami metropolitan area. There, Dade County, which contains the city of Miami and several smaller cities and towns, was constituted in 1957 into a metropolitan government under the name of "Metropolitan Dade County" or, in common parlance, simply "Dade Metro." This was done by a constitutional amendment passed in 1956, giving the county full powers of home rule. Under that amendment the legislature created a charter commission of Dade citizens, which drafted the charter approved in 1957 by the citizens of the county voting as a unit.

The county governing board consists of eleven members elected partly at large and partly by districts. The board appoints a county manager. The county is given powers over the county-wide aspects of roads and traffic, transportation, utilities, zoning, fire and police (records, training and communications), hospitals, health and welfare, ports, parks, libraries, museums, building codes and urban renewal.

The existing municipalities are preserved with all the local powers possessed by them theretofore not inconsistent with the charter. Any municipality may, by a two-thirds vote of its governing body or a majority vote of its people, transfer any service to the county. County revenue is derived from property taxes, certain shared state-collected

taxes and federal grants. The new organization seems to be soundly conceived. The operation of this experiment will deserve watching.

The employment of the county as a base for the organization of a real metropolitan government may be feasible in cases such as the one just cited, where the county contains the whole metropolitan area and enough other, not yet urbanized, territory to allow for expansion within its boundaries. Obviously, where the area extends beyond county boundaries, the county cannot serve as a base for the erection of a full-fledged metropolitan government.

* * *

By and large more progress has been made during these past 110 years in the solution of specific service problems of metropolitan areas than in the solution of their basic organizational problems. Although certain services and facilities have been organized on an area-wide basis under the aegis of a metropolitan district commission or county, the range of services and facilities requiring area-wide organization has increased considerably. Although consolidations and annexations unified the central city and its suburbs at the time they were put into operation, the effects of these unifications have been brought to naught by the growth of the area beyond the boundaries of the enlarged city and by the formation of a new and even larger aggregation of suburbs around that city. As a result, government in metropolitan areas is just about as disunited today as it was then and in some cases is even more so.

Our failure to resolve the basic organizational problems of metropolitan areas is much more serious today because a much larger proportion of our population now lives in these areas. With more than 75 per cent of the population of many states contained in their metropolitan areas, and with more than 60 per cent of the population contained in the nation's metropolitan areas, any defect in the political and administrative organization of these areas which affects their economic welfare adversely immediately affects adversely the economic welfare of the entire state and of the nation.

The basic problems of metropolitan areas have ceased to be purely local. They have assumed the character of state, interstate, national and, in some cases, even international problems. At the same time these problems have developed certain common features which justify a more or less simultaneous statewide, interstate and nation-wide attempt to solve them, over and above any purely local efforts.

Are these new broader aspects being fully recognized today by those who concern themselves with these problems? I doubt it. Far too many still keep on treating these problems as if they were purely local and capable of solution by purely local action. They thereby seriously impair their own ability to make meaningful proposals while also reducing the chances of adoption of any worthy proposals they may make. I find in these facts the main reasons why we have been making such slow progress.

Local initiative alone will not solve basic organizational problems of the

metropolitan areas. Purely local approaches are too prone to yield weak and ineffective remedies or to result in defeat of any bold proposal. The local approach assumes that any major alteration of the government in a metropolitan area must have the consent of all or nearly all of the area's local governments. The result is that major alterations seldom take place. The horizon for any proposal for amelioration of the existing governmental setup is limited to the lowest denominator in broad-mindedness among the local governments of the area.

* * *

Even where bold proposals may be advanced under purely local approaches and where voting on them is held by the city population and by the suburban population counted as two units, such proposals may be readily defeated by a well organized narrow-minded opposition. Unquestionably the multiple majority requirement has been an important factor in the defeat of comprehensive metropolitan government proposals in the Seattle, Nashville, Knoxville, St. Louis and Cleveland areas. In some cases efforts to accommodate the anticipated opposition of residents of part of an area have caused those who drew the plans to make compromises which have proved unacceptable.

It seems, therefore, that unless these purely local approaches soon give way to broader ones calling for supplementary state and federal participation, the whole movement to find a solution may fail dismally.

Local participation in the solution of the organizational problems of

the metropolitan areas must be cultivated, but it must not be permitted to occupy the entire stage and to keep away needed state and federal participation. Only when these facts are realized, and when state and national civic and political leaderships will join in the effort to find appropriate solutions, will we begin to make notable progress.

Even in the early days, when metropolitan areas were smaller and less important in the life of their states and of the nation, a purely local approach to the solution of problems was inadequate and often had to be supplemented by state intervention, at least to the extent of mandating local action. Had state authority not been invoked, some of the most important ameliorations in metropolitan organization would never have taken place. Philadelphia County would not have been consolidated with Philadelphia in 1854 or possibly ever, and Philadelphia might still be confined today to its original territory of about two square miles, had not the Pennsylvania legislature disregarded the opposition of some suburbs to that consolidation and ordered it to be executed.

New York City might still be confined today to the 22 square miles of Manhattan Island had not the New York legislature, in 1873 and 1895, ordered the annexation to the city of 40 square miles of Westchester County (making up a large portion of the present Bronx) and again in 1894-1896 sanctioned the absorption by New York City of some 265 more square miles of what then constituted the bulk of the New York metropolitan area, despite the fact that some localities in those

territories did not wish to be absorbed by the city.

The Harvard and Cambridge bridges in the Boston metropolitan area might not have been built in the 1870s and 1880s had not the Massachusetts legislature put an end to the dispute between the two cities as to which of them should build them, or what share of the cost each should bear, by ordering Boston to participate in the undertaking and to pay half the cost. The construction of the Bronx River Parkway, which had been held up for thirteen years by a wrangle between New York City and Westchester County over the division of costs, might have been held up longer had not the legislature compelled New York City after World War I to participate in this work and to finance two-thirds of its costs.

* * *

The states and the federal government should, as a part of definite policy, provide appropriate encouragement to efforts to set up real metropolitan governments either of the federated type or based on the metropolitan county. This would be the greatest contribution they could make to the advancement of local government in this country, first of all because the federated and the county-based types of metropolitan government are the most effective forms of local government ever conceived for the care of metropolitan needs in the modern urban democratic civilization, and secondly because their effectuation needs some such lift from above to offset the resistance that comes from the parochial point of view entertained by some local governments.

'Progress' and Parks

Despite need of an exploding population, schools, highways, others plot to take recreation areas.

By ALFRED BALK*

SOME evening or some noon hour, stroll over to the park in your town or your neighborhood. As you walk in the park, test the air, notice the trees, the grass, the children playing, the people sitting on benches. Notice the birds and the squirrels—and tell them all good-bye.

Unless your town or your neighborhood is very lucky or very aggressive the days of your park are numbered. Throughout our nation today public parks are being chopped down, carved up, invaded or totally scraped away by the relentless blades of the bulldozers. The pace of this destruction of nature is incredibly rapid.

In recent years Washington, D.C., has lost nearly 600 park acres, almost one tenth of its total, to "improvements." Anniston, Alabama, lost recreation ground for a housing project. Flint, Michigan, has lost parks to schools, a fire station, a parking lot and an armory. In Klamath Falls, Oregon, (population 18,000), where citizens labored for months to complete a recreation area beside a lake, road planners came through and ruined it.

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Return to a scene of childhood memory. I did recently. There in Rock Island, Illinois, a grassy square once was an invitation to pause, lie against a tree and hear river boats on the Mississippi. But the square is gone now. In its place? A post office.

"There seems to be no end to it," a National Recreation Association official told me recently. "With distressing frequency this country loses one after another of its parks. Even more frequently, we lose pieces of parks—play lots, strips, corners or other areas. In time this nibbling process means the death knell of some of our finest areas."

There are many forces at work in this obliteration of an invaluable heritage. A major one is the interstate highway program, which alone will consume some two million park acres. Countless parks have succumbed to the demand for parking lots, restaurants, public buildings. The others are so numerous and varied that four national park and recreation organizations jointly began a survey last fall to identify them. But the job proved impossible to complete. One reason is that we will never come abreast of our need for buildings and highways, no matter how many parks are destroyed. Must we, then, bulldoze the bandstand square, play lot of youth, or woods or streams which so deeply touched our own lives, be-

cause it seems an "easy out" for our problems? Must we, who have drunk so deeply of nature's glories, in the words of Henry Thoreau, now "like villains grub them all up?"

Parks, after all, cool and dignify communities, stabilize neighborhoods, enhance property values. They instill civic pride, attract tourists, commerce, industry. Their loss is irreplaceable. As Dennis O'Harrow of the American Society of Planning Officials says: "A road or building can be constructed anywhere. A wood or a park cannot. It is either preserved where it was placed years ago or it is gone forever."

Ohioans recently faced this loss in Yellow Springs. There, Antioch College owns a venerable 1,000-acre preserve, Glen Helen. Adjoining it is John Bryan State Park. In these two delightfully wooded areas are five camps which serve Boy and Girl Scouts, 4-H clubs, schools, an orphans' home; there's a \$170,000 nature education center, a trail-side museum, a livestock farm which demonstrates soil conservation practices, and a 100-acre forest where local high school youngsters raise Christmas trees. The whole area is a living laboratory. Yet one day the State Highway Department announced new plans for the Glen: A multi-lane pavement, 300 feet wide, directly through it.

Kenneth Hunt, the Glen's director, was heartsick. "This must not happen," he said. He and other friends of the Glen got busy. They mounted a mail and phone campaign. Letters swamped the state house. Finally, the governor intervened. The road plans were changed.

Glen Helen and Bryan Park were saved.

Then last year, the Yellow Springs council posed another threat. Its plan: Build a sewer through the Glen. Plow the stream bed, fell trees and shrubs, shatter the stillness with the roar of maintenance vehicles. A different plan could have avoided this. But the councilmen refused to allocate the money. Ultimately champions of the Glen—many of them parents of moderate means—raised \$42,000 to reroute the proposed sewer. Antioch deeded other land. The council relented. The preserve was saved again—for how long, no one knows.

* * *

Ironically, it is in the cities, where parks are most valuable to young and old, that they have proved most vulnerable, especially to "nibbling." In San Diego, for example, rolling, scenic Balboa Park has already lost almost a fifth of its area. Its land has been gobbled up by two schools, a hospital, city shops and a freeway. Parks in Detroit, Los Angeles, Buffalo, Nashville, Cincinnati and Kansas City (Kansas) have been reduced by similar "improvements."

Park lands in other cities are under constant threat. In Chicago and suburbs, where Cook County acquired 46,000 acres of forest preserves, encroachments have threatened almost continually. After World War II, Argonne National Laboratory, holder of an emergency lease, wanted 1,000 acres permanently. The Illinois Toll Highway Commission, despite unlimited land-taking powers, proposed to slash through the largest preserve, pains-

takingly acquired in 2,000 transactions since 1920. And the University of Illinois planned to usurp a preserve where 1,500 Boy Scouts camp on weekends and many tenement dwellers find their only fresh air and greenery.

Blocking each scheme, however, was the tall, craggy-faced, 67-year-old Forest Preserves' superintendent, Charles G. Sauers. "Parks aren't land banks to be drawn upon," he contended. "They belong to the people and they must be preserved for the people." So far Cook County's parks have been saved—thanks to tireless watchfulness and activity by Sauers and his supporters.

Consider San Francisco. Despite its pride in beauty, the state planned a freeway through 1,013-acre Golden Gate Park, its heart. Max G. Funke, then general manager of the Recreation and Park Department, summoned his commission. "We're at the crossroads," he said. "The city can remain desirable or become a dump."

A big, uncompromising former newspaperman, Funke got action. With charts and pictures, he and others visited parent-teacher, civic and neighborhood improvement organizations, showing how other grassy parks had been turned into bare concrete. Soon letters and resolutions poured in on the mayor, city-county board and newspapers.

Another plan was found for the freeway—tunnels beneath the park. Further, all expressways were reviewed for compatibility with neighborhoods through which they would pass. The result: a "great freeway revolt." Held up were 50 miles of

proposed superhighways. San Francisco needed them—but not if the price were its soul.

Many cities have turned park land into garage sites. But Atlanta, Philadelphia, Boston and Chicago are setting an example: Garages in those cities have been placed underground. Shreveport, Louisiana, decided not to put schools in its parks. Instead, the new buildings are erected alongside the parks—increasing benefits for both.

* * *

Protective measures such as these usually originate with a determined individual or group. In Greensboro, North Carolina, for instance, Mrs. Charles T. Hagan, a member of the Parks and Recreation Commission, saw workmen for a street-widening project descend upon Fisher Park. Shocked, she alerted friends. All phoned city hall. Work was halted—temporarily at first, then permanently. Now, thanks to her, Greensboro has an official don't-harm-the-parks policy, a permanent watchdog committee, and is formulating a plan to require real estate developers to set aside park land in new subdivisions.

Is this "no compromise" attitude in such matters unreasonable?

"It's essential," says one big city park superintendent. "No park can be spared. Its integrity must be absolute. Surrender even a slice and the rest will go too."

Courts affirm this view. A New York judge denied land for a parking lot in Central Park. Delaware's Superior Court has prohibited the taking of six acres of park land for a school in Wilmington. And a

(Continued on page 483)

School for Politicians

Parties cooperate in University of California seminar; find experience stimulating, helpful.

By JEWEL BELLUSH*

IT'S an election year. Political interest reaches a new intensity as November draws near. Swept into the current of this excitement is the University of California. Sparked by the leadership of University Extension, "Politics 1960" has been launched. One aspect of this unique project includes a joint cooperative venture with the Democratic and Republican parties—the first of its kind in state history.

In the fall of 1959 a Continuing Committee was established representing the University of California, the Republican and Democratic parties. For many years University Extension has been concerned with widespread indifference of citizens towards political parties and has been anxious to stimulate additional enthusiasm for political discussion and participation. A year ago the leadership of one party sought University Extension's assistance in training party leaders in the methods and skills of the discussion process.

Concurrently, spokesmen from the other party had discussed with extension staff members their concern with the general stereotyped public image of politics. They felt that peo-

ple were repelled by the thought of participating in politics and that this attitude handicapped party leaders in recruiting fresh blood.

Ever since University Extension was created, it has cooperated with a variety of community groups on a wide range of activities. Why not political parties? While anxious to develop a discussion program there were obvious dangers for a state-supported institution to conduct these programs separately. University Extension then proposed that the University and the parties work together, insuring a bipartisan enterprise. Both parties approved.

University Extension's next objective was to insure representative groups from each party on the committee. This was no easy task in California. The state boasts no simple pyramidal party structure, for the centers of power in both parties are dispersed. The State Central Committee, supposedly the top party agency, consists of over seven hundred people. The county organizations operate independently of the State Central Committee, with a leadership often indifferent to state committee activities.

Outside the detailed legal framework of the party system were the volunteer or unofficial party groups—notably the California Democratic Council and the Republican Assembly—with significant memberships, local groups, their own officers and

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with responsibilities closely akin to those of the regular party organizations.¹ To further complicate the problem of representation on the joint committee, the governor, the legislative delegations at Sacramento and Washington and the national committeemen and women were also part of party leadership. All these power centers had to be considered as part of the party machinery.

* * *

The University was most anxious that its initial venture into this kind of bipartisan politics be successful. Two preliminary meetings were held with as representative a group as was possible to assemble. Included were key state and county committee leaders, national committeemen and women, legislators and spokesmen for the extra-legal groups.

It quickly became evident that the most effective channel for this joint enterprise was the state party chairman. While not necessarily the most powerful or influential, he was the one person in touch with most party units. Given California's dispersed and fragmented party structure, the state chairman came closest to being a coordinator of statewide activity. Furthermore, the Democratic chairman was also a state legislator, the Republican chairman a member of the National Committee—both positions reaching into other equally important party power centers.

In the fall of 1959 the Continuing Committee was established, with five

representatives from each party selected by its state chairman and five from the University. Among the appointees were the state chairmen of the parties and the University's dean of extension. Also representing the University were two political scientists and two leadership training experts. At one of its first meetings the Continuing Committee agreed that while individual members could suggest ideas for programs, the committee would act only on projects approved unanimously. This protected the University in two ways: it insured bipartisan support for all projects and enabled the University to evaluate each undertaking in terms of school-wide interests and objectives. The first venture to test the effectiveness of the Continuing Committee was a Seminar on Party Organization in February 1960.

On several occasions party representatives on the Continuing Committee discussed the need for bipartisan study of California's party organization and structure. It was felt that the segmented untidy system handicapped both parties in performing effectively and responsibly. To initiate the study, the committee proposed a small seminar of 30 to 40 party leaders.

Two important facts should be noted at this stage of the committee's work: First, the strategy of University Extension was to give party representatives the initiative and responsibility for suggesting program. Second, terms such as seminar, study group, research, were first mentioned by party representatives.

In preparation for the seminar, the committee decided to hold interviews with party leaders to determine

¹ See *California Politics*, by Joseph P. Harris and Leonard Rowe. Stanford University Press, Stanford, California, 1959; also *Party Politics in the Golden State*, by Dean R. Cresap. Haynes Foundation, Los Angeles, 1954.

the seminar program and to insure discussion of basic organizational problems plaguing both parties. Names were submitted to the interviewer by the state chairmen and interviews scheduled after receipt of a letter from the party chairman urging the interviewee to cooperate. Initial interviews were held with members of the Continuing Committee to check the questions, the approach and performance of the interviewer, who kept close contact with committee members throughout her schedule. This continuous contact was of crucial importance in building confidence in University Extension personnel and in bringing parties and University into a more relaxed working relationship.

* * *

Over 30 interviews were conducted among national committeemen, state and county leaders, legislators, professional staff and volunteer chairmen in key geographical areas. To insure a relaxed, informal atmosphere the interviewer did not take notes and insured the interviewees that they would not be quoted directly. One state leader admitted that he had scheduled only fifteen minutes for the interview. He spent two hours discussing party structure.

On the basis of the interview report the Continuing Committee developed the seminar program. It was felt that a week-end residential gathering, removed from the centers of political activity, would insure the attention of participants. Three other decisions deserve comment:

First, seminar members were divided into two discussion groups, bipartisan in character. These smaller

sessions facilitated more adequate discussion of the problems raised in the interview report.

Second, the breakfast period was set aside for special party caucuses to stabilize communication among members of the same party. Except for legislative representatives, there are few such occasions when active leaders of both major parties meet.

Third, because of interest engendered in party systems elsewhere, the Continuing Committee invited a group of experts familiar with state party organizations which might offer institutional characteristics of interest to Californians. The pre-primary endorsement system of Colorado, the convention system of Connecticut and the contrasting tight hierarchical party structures of Indiana and New York suggested challenging comparisons. A group of political scientists, familiar with practical politics in these states, was brought to the seminar.² Carefully briefed as to its purpose and design they were urged to speak informally, emphasizing the practical aspects of these contrasting systems. Since the resource persons had had practical experience in party work, their talks were frank and informative. Their discussions were so objective it was difficult to identify the party with

² Dr. Donald Herzberg, executive director, Eagleton Foundation, Rutgers University, discussed Connecticut; Professor Curtis Martin, Political Science Department, University of Colorado, represented Colorado; Professor Philip S. Wilder, Jr., Political Science Department, Wabash College, spoke on Indiana; Dr. Jewel Bellush, Political Science Department, Hunter College, New York, described New York; Dr. Paul David, director of governmental studies, Brookings Institution, was panel moderator.

which they were affiliated.

A difficult task facing seminar planners was insuring its representative character. Extension staff, in close contact with party leaders, spent some two months building a representative roster of participants. A brief summary of the seminar discussions and preliminary interviews follows. It highlights the shortcomings of California's party organizations and excludes the desirable aspects of party activity since this was the objective of the committee.

I. *State Central Committee*

A. *Organization.* The State Central Committee (SCC) was depicted as a loose, unwieldy organization, lacking roots among enrolled voters and isolated from other units within the party. The SCC was viewed more as a convention than a committee. Many thought it was much too large and far too cumbersome to be an effective instrument of party activity. The schedule for organizing the SCC was reported to be unrelated to national and state elections. For example, relatively little time is available for new leadership to take responsibility between the organization of a new SCC in August and the general election in November. Another criticism was that the Election Code divides the state into north and south for party organizational purposes. Since the SCC meets infrequently, this too contributes to a formless, weak structure.

B. *Purpose.* The SCC has little power and few duties. Described as an innocuous body in decision-making, many participants believed the committee had no clear mandate of responsibilities.

C. *Membership.* The continual turnover of some SCC members and the interminable presence of others have been disturbing problems and have contributed to a feeling of apathy and indifference. Since SCC's functions have never been clearly stated, members are often puzzled as to their roles. The large number of proxies also is indicative of the committee's weakness.

The method of selecting SCC members evoked some disagreement. While not falling along partisan lines, some seminar members believed that the appointment of SCC members by nominees for public office was of great value since it helped bind party and legislature. Another point of view maintained that party and legislature had to be separated, that the SCC was not representative and was controlled by legislative incumbents.

D. *Leadership.* While many discussants believed that the SCC leadership varied with individuals, several factors were cited as evidence that state leaders were allocated little power and served without influence. Election Code requirements that chairmen be rotated between north and south and the two-year tenure limit prevented continuity of state leadership. However, circumventing devices have been developed: for example, the sectional division of the Democratic party permitted an individual to be chairman in one section of the state and statewide chairman the following term.

E. *Communication.* Internal relationships among such party units as the National Committee, SCC and county central committees were deemed poor except when individuals

were able to build lines of communication on a personal basis. Even this was sporadic and temporary.

F. *Extra-legal (or Unofficial) Organizations.* The rise and growth of unofficial or extra-legal organizations was characterized as an important phenomenon of California politics, in part evoked by the amorphous character of party structure. There was some difference of opinion, however, as to the functions and responsibilities to be assigned them.

Comments varied as to the kind of relationship which has developed between the official party organization and extra-legal groups. Many concluded that the enthusiasm and interest of these unofficial organizations was of great value to the party. In some geographical areas both groups had moved forward in a co-operative spirit; overlapping membership in party committees and extra-legal groups helped fashion a connective link. Others indicated uneasiness about the growth of these unofficial organizations and reported competition and tension with official party organs.

II. County Central Committees

A. *Role and Functions.* Many of the factors hampering SCC operations were also impeding the effectiveness of county central committees (ccc). Generally, the ccc lacked a sense of purpose. Since its role and functions are not clearly understood, it is often low in prestige and effectiveness. Several described the ccc in rural areas as more adequate and efficient than those in the more heavily populated counties.

B. *Organization.* Members of both parties reported that the pro-

ficiency of their cccs varied considerably. What accounted for this uneven level of performance? Some felt the caliber and quality of leadership, particularly the chairman, was of greatest importance. In many areas county leadership is inadequate, meetings rarely convened and planning activities wanting. In some counties chairmen hold such tight control over party activities that the ccc is only his appendage.

Also responsible for the inadequacy of the cccs has been its weak foundation or roots in the voting community; without a precinct organization or other structural form, a vacuum has been created between the ccc and enrolled voters. It was noted, however, that in some urban districts the congressional committee has developed to the point of replacing the need for the ccc. The congressional committee raises its own funds, plans its own social events, maintains its own headquarters, coordinates volunteers and runs campaigns. From an organizational point of view the congressional committee often appears to stand by itself, somewhat isolated from the party structure without lines of communication to the ccc or to the SCC. This also is true of the assembly district committees which have grown in many metropolitan areas.

C. *Membership.* Another factor which contributes to the ineffectiveness of the ccc has been its method of election. Particularly in metropolitan areas, designation as an incumbent, the genesis of one's name, the listing of occupation, appear more important than the competency or interest of an individual running. In addition, once elected, many ccc

members become inactive. Some discussants professed that incumbency was the root of the CCC problems. "Old-timers," clinging to the prestige of membership, show little interest or enthusiasm in county activities. Others believed that its inadequacy was due largely to the selection of incompetent men and women, "given" office as some reward for service. Newcomers often must fight their way into the organization.

D. *Extra-Legal Groups.* Development of extra-legal groups at the county level was again offered as proof that the county party organization is inadequate and weak. The extensive use of the party label by growing independent clubs and associations, particularly in cities, confuses if not hinders party responsibility. Several felt that the development of extra-legal groups was more a problem at the county level. Some seminar members stressed the need to study ways and means for bringing these groups into closer contact with each other.

Evaluation

A number of problems emerged in the course of developing the seminar program. While 1960 is an election year with political interest and involvement at their peak, it is not necessarily the ideal time for a joint venture between the University and political parties. Party leaders are overwhelmed with partisan politics. A presidential year is partisan in nature and affected the seminar in several ways. Perhaps the most dramatic incident was the discovery that one of the parties had utilized the site and first night of the seminar to select the official slate of delegates to its national convention. This

seemed to prove that the seminar had invited key representatives of the party.

It should also be noted that the subject, "party organization," creates some danger for the University. Changing the party structure involves important political relationships among constituent groups and affects the power position of individuals. While the University can provide an opportunity for discussion and study, it must be careful not to become entangled in party debates for reform. Finally, several seminar participants, particularly legislators, believed that discussion of party organization should be temporarily postponed until the impact of the elimination of cross-filing in California is fully understood.

* * *

Nevertheless, the seminar served a number of important functions. For the first time in the state's history, a representative group from both parties gathered informally to discuss pressing organizational problems. Acting as a neutral agency, the University provided information of interest and value to both parties. The interviews and presentations of out-of-state resource people served an important educational function. Interviews and seminar pinpointed the degree of consensus and disagreement between both parties and among elements within each party on this important problem.

While structural questions may have been the concern of individual party leaders, there was relatively little attention devoted to this matter. The seminar helped stimulate interest in, and study of, party organiza-

tion. The portrayal of other state systems suggested new ideas for structural changes in California. Several seminar members who had indicated dissatisfaction with California's party structure felt somewhat relieved that other states had their share of organizational woes. Others indicated considerable interest in Colorado's preprimary convention system. In other words, the seminar opened new areas for additional study. Seminar members did take action on one issue, unanimously recommending a change in the California Election Code.³

As a result of academicians and party professionals working together, the Bureau of Public Administration at Berkeley and several University professors are planning research projects in the area of party organization. Finally, party leaders gained an insight into some of the many University facilities available to them in their year-round activities.

The Continuing Committee is in its infancy. Based on its first venture, its future forecasts many unique experiences.

³ The recommended change involved the organization date of the State Central Committees. Officers of the SCCs are key figures in organizing and conducting campaign work for the November election every other year. Under the present system new party officers are selected only two months previously. Thus, only a fraction of their two-year terms can be devoted to their most important tasks. The seminar members voted unanimously that the Election Code be revised to enable the SCCs to take office the January following the general election, and thus have a year and a half to prepare for the next election.

'PROGRESS' AND PARKS

(Continued from page 476)

Monterey, California, Superior Court has backed the State Park Commission in a similar case.

This legal protection, ultimately, is a park's surest safeguard. It hinges, however, upon designation of each park, by law, as "for park purposes only." Check yours. If its title is vague get it changed. And insist on other procedures which experience has shown are a minimum requirement for protection. Require public hearings, for example, plus approval by park authorities, before even one square foot of park land can be altered.¹ Make irreplaceable sites inviolate. For the rare cases when park commissioners may find there is no alternative to encroachment, the community should require payment of the replacement cost of park land—or exchange of comparable terrain nearby.

Our population has nearly doubled in the past four decades, will continue to rise. We're promised more income, more leisure, more young and more elderly citizens in America than ever before. Will they have a park in which to pause, feel nature's nearness, savor warm sunshine and grass, refresh both body and soul? Or will concrete, cloverleaf and congestion be the only heritage for the future?

The decision—and it's final—is yours.

¹ For further information, write National Recreation Association, 8 West 8th Street, New York 11.

News in Review

City, State and Nation

H. M. Olmsted, Editor

Census Points Need For Reapportioning

Unfair Representation Augmented in Nation

INEQUALITY of representation in the national and state legislatures, long a matter of concern to believers in democracy, has become worse in the last ten years as shown by the 1960 census. Although the number of congressmen for the several states will be adjusted to the new enumeration, differences in the population of congressional districts accentuated by unequal growth are not likely to be corrected except in a minority of cases. In about half the states the number of congressmen will not be altered and redistricting will depend only on internal pressures and a sense of fairness—too often ineffective. States losing congressmen will have a strong incentive to redistrict, fairly or otherwise; states gaining members have a lesser incentive as they can elect additional members at large.

Data from the 1960 census, with relation to congressional representation, have recently been presented in the *New York Times* by Richard E. Mooney.

In Connecticut, with five congressional districts (a sixth congressman having been elected at large since the state's representation was increased in 1930), the 1950 spread of 266,000, from 274,000 to 540,000, is stated to have been increased to 370,000; a largely rural district in the northwest corner of the state now has 316,000 inhabitants, while the district containing Hartford has 686,000 or more than twice as many. Connecticut does not stand to gain or lose a congressman and has no external compulsion to redistrict.

New York has greater disparities but

is slated to lose three of its 43 congressmen and may thus be expected to redistrict. In 1950, after revamping the districts, populations ranged from 297,000 to 393,000; but the variation is now from 257,000 (for a mid-Manhattan district) to 900,000 for Suffolk County in eastern Long Island.

The extreme variation between districts is given as from 175,968 in a district of Michigan's upper peninsula to 1,007,140 in California's 28th, around San Diego. Michigan, which is expected to gain a congressman, may possibly redistrict; but the result will hardly be equitable unless a much better job is done than in 1950, when redistricting produced a spread of 178,000 to 525,000. California will gain seven or eight congressmen, which may cause it to reapportion but without effective compulsion of law for equitable representation.

In 1950 four states—Delaware, Nevada, Vermont and Wyoming—rated only one congressman each and continue in that status in 1960. All but Vermont had populations less than the average 1950 quota of about 345,000 for one congressman; Alaska, admitted in 1958 with an estimated population of 167,000, as against an estimated 1958 quota of about 400,000, is the extreme example of over-representation of a state.

The membership of the House of Representatives will drop from 437 to 435 after the apportionment based on the 1960 census is completed and in effect. The number 437 was due to a temporary increase because of the admission of Alaska and Hawaii, each having a tentative allowance of one congressman. The new apportionment is expected to give Hawaii two members; Alaska will stay at the minimum of one for a state.

The uneven character of population growth—or decline—also affects state

legislative districts, of course. This, together with the reluctance of state legislatures to redistrict, makes for increased inequalities even more than in the case of congressional districts.

N. Y. Governor Issues Code of Fair Practices

Governor Nelson Rockefeller of New York issued an executive order in August establishing a new Code of Fair Practices for the executive branch of the state government.

The code reaffirms the state's policy prohibiting discrimination because of race, creed, color, national origin or age in the activities of state government and draws specific attention to the areas of state activity in which the state's policy has special application including appointment, assignment and promotion of employees, public contracts, job training, licensing and state aid grants.

It stresses the importance of close cooperation by all state agencies with the State Commission Against Discrimination in enforcement of state laws. The code was developed by the governor's office in cooperation with SCAD and the attorney general's office.

The code contains eleven articles; Article I, Appointment, Assignment and Promotion of State Personnel, is representative:

State officials and supervisory employees shall appoint, assign and promote state personnel on the basis of merit and fitness, without regard to race, color, creed, national origin or age. State agencies shall bar from all employment application forms any inquiry expressing any limitation or specification as to race, color, creed, national origin or age unless it relates to a bona fide occupational qualification.

Oregon Reorganization To Be Studied

Governor Mark O. Hatfield of Oregon has appointed a committee of seventeen

members to review a governmental reorganization plan that he expects to submit to the 1961 legislature, according to *State Government News*. The governor has described the task of administering the present setup of boards and commissions as staggering. Tentative plans developed by him and his staff, and referred to various state departments for study, would reduce the number of state agencies from 171 to 91. The governor indicated that he favors a cabinet-type of state government, which would give more authority and responsibility to the chief executive.

Oklahoma Adopts Three Constitutional Changes

Three amendments to the constitution of Oklahoma were approved by the voters at a primary election on July 5. One provides that presidential electors be nominated by their respective party conventions. Another authorizes a levy of not more than two and a half mills for county departments of health. The third gives authority to issue up to \$35.5 million of bonds for improvements at institutions of higher education and at hospitals for the mentally retarded. The voters rejected a proposed amendment to increase legislators' salaries.

Florida to Vote On Six Amendments

Six proposed constitutional amendments—four general and two local—will be passed upon by Florida voters in November. Their subject matter is briefly as follows:

1. Limiting the fiscal independence of the Game and Fresh Water Fish Commission and placing its appointment in the hands of the seven-member Governor's Cabinet instead of the governor alone;

2. Freezing into the constitution the present distribution of state racing revenues—45 per cent being distributed to counties equally;

3. Absentee registration for military personnel;

4. Permitting the legislature to add two judges to any district court of appeal;

5. Allowing civil jury trials outside the county seat in two additional counties (now permitted in one);

6. A similar provision for a fourth county.

Four States Permit Voting under 21

With the admission of Alaska and Hawaii to statehood, there are now four states where the minimum voting age is below 21. In Georgia and Kentucky the minimum age has been eighteen for some time. In Alaska it is nineteen and in Hawaii twenty.

Electric Roll Calls Urged for Pennsylvania

A special committee of the Pennsylvania House of Representatives, appointed to study the pros and cons of an electric roll call system, has recommended that one be installed in the House for use in the 1961 session. It also recommended that the public address system be improved and expanded.

Governors Hold Annual Meeting

The 51st annual meeting of the Governors' Conference was held from June 26 to 29 at Glacier National Park, Montana, with governors from 47 states and territories in attendance. In mid-November many of the governors will meet to visit South America.

The June meeting was presided over by Governor J. Caleb Boggs of Delaware, chairman of the conference. Governor Stephen L. R. Nichols of Colorado was chosen chairman for the next year.

Subjects discussed extensively by the governors, reported in *State Govern-*

ment, included education at all levels, federal-state relations especially with respect to taxation and finance, highway safety and problems of the aging. Committee reports were submitted dealing with the National Guard, civil defense and fallout protection, federal-state relations and roads and highway safety. Resolutions adopted included: Calling for a program of medical insurance for persons over 65 financed through the social security system, opposing federal interference with established interstate compact agencies, establishing a committee on juvenile delinquency, continuing the committee on civil defense with recommendations for fallout protection, a proposed highway safety compact, etc.

The governors of Hawaii and Pennsylvania each submitted an invitation to the Governors' Conference to hold its 1961 annual meeting in his state.

The ambassadors of Argentina and Brazil issued official invitations to the governors and their wives for a visit to those countries in mid-November, such visit being in accordance with a resolution adopted at the 1959 meeting.

California Legislative Internship Program Advances

The California Legislative Internship Program concluded its third year on June 30, 1960, with thirteen interns studying, and participating to a limited extent in the operations of the state legislature. Fourteen have been appointed for the 1960-61 period. All but one in each of the two periods were men; and all were students who had completed at least one year of graduate work or had equivalent experience. The long-range occupational objectives of the 1959-60 interns included teaching, law, government service and journalism.

The internship program provides an opportunity to observe and, by work assignments, to take a significant part in the operation of the lower house of the legislature. It also includes an orienta-

tion program at the outset, weekly seminars and, for the first time in 1959-60, a conference held near the end of the internship attended by the interns, several legislators and faculty members from the sponsoring institutions—University of California, University of Southern California, Stanford University and the Claremont Graduate School.

Another Try for Illinois Judicial Amendment

A proposed constitutional amendment to reorganize the state judicial system in Illinois will be submitted to the 1961 legislature. A corresponding proposal would have achieved a two-thirds majority in November 1958 if ballots marked "yes" instead of with a cross had been included, but the State Supreme Court invalidated such ballots and ruled that the necessary two-thirds had not been attained.¹

A joint committee of the Illinois State and Chicago Bar Associations has been preparing a new draft, including provisions for reform in selection of judges which were originally in the previous draft but were eliminated by legislative compromise.

Court Delays Show General Increase

The Institute of Judicial Administration at New York University recently completed a survey of delays in bringing personal injury cases to jury trial. The average delay in Cook County (Chicago) Circuit Courts was 70 months (almost six years). The average delay in Cook County Superior Courts was 69 months. These two courts had the poorest records in the nation.

The third longest delays occurred in the State Supreme Court in Queens County (Queens Borough, New York City), where delays averaged 36 months.

¹ See the REVIEW, January 1959, page 25, and March 1960, page 139.

Actually this is an improvement in Queens compared with a year ago when it took 40 months to get to trial.

Other major courts in the New York City area averaged: Manhattan, nineteen months, down from 24 the year before; Bronx, 22, down from 24; and Brooklyn, 23, up from 21.

Nation-wide the trend is toward longer delays—a 10 per cent rise in delays in major state trial courts being reported. Last year the average delay was 10.1 months while this year the figure has advanced to 11.1 months.

A report issued in the summer by the administrative office of the New Jersey court system showed a 36 per cent increase in the backlog of civil cases. The number of active cases on the calendars of the county and superior courts rose from 12,983 on June 30, 1959, to 17,753 a year later; and the cases on the calendar for twelve to eighteen months almost tripled. Recently, however, the legislature has created twenty additional superior and county judgeships.

Alaska Courts Now On Statehood Basis

Two years ahead of the schedule established by Congress, Alaska has completed the orderly transition of its courts from territorial to statehood status.

In June 1959, the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals decided it no longer was the appellate tribunal for Alaskan courts. The reaction of Alaskans was immediate and admirable. Under the leadership of Chief Justice Buell A. Nesbitt of the Alaskan Supreme Court, the state rapidly transformed its entire judicial system.

By arrangement with Chief Justice Joseph Weintraub of the New Jersey Supreme Court and Chief Judge William F. Smith of the Federal District Court of Newark, the justices of Alaska's Supreme Court were able to spend a week studying the judicial system of New Jersey.

When the Superior Courts took over from the territorial courts, there was a

backlog of two thousand cases in the Anchorage area and one thousand in Fairbanks. Since statehood, litigation has increased. Even with more filings than before, the new court system has made an appreciable reduction of the backlog while keeping fully abreast of the new cases.

Utilization of the pre-trial, in which issues are narrowed and some cases amicably settled without formal court proceedings, has done much to speed Alaskan justice.

W.J.D.B.

Arizona to Vote on Court Reorganization

A modern courts amendment, to give Arizona a basic structure for the creation of one of the most efficient court systems in America, will be submitted to the voters in November, reports the *Journal of the American Judicature Society*.

The amendment will bring all courts into an integrated judicial system under administrative direction of the chief justice, who will have power to assign judges from court to court as needed. The Supreme Court will be empowered to sit in divisions. Justice court jurisdiction will be increased and municipal courts and an intermediate appellate court may be established.

The amendment, drafted by a committee of the Arizona State Bar, is supported by a statewide Committee for Modern Courts, which filed an initiative petition on July 8 after securing 79,005 signatures, 35,505 more than were needed. The amendment has the endorsement of all four metropolitan daily newspapers in the state.

Council-Manager Plan Developments

CRYSTAL, MINNESOTA, (1960 population 24,201—preliminary) adopted a council-manager charter by a vote of 770 to 396 (unofficial) on August 23. Crystal

has had the mayor-council plan of village government with a village administrator. It now becomes a city of the second class.

McKINNEY, TEXAS, (1950 population 10,560) HOLBROOK, ARIZONA, (2,336) and TROTWOOD, OHIO, (1,066) have recently been added by the International City Managers' Association to its official list of council-manager communities.

STROUD, OKLAHOMA, (2,450) voted 168 to 160 on June 21 to change from the statutory aldermanic form of government to the statutory council-manager form, effective in May 1961 following election of a new council.

* * *

OXFORD, OHIO, will vote November 8 on adoption of a council-manager charter drafted by its charter commission.

The fifteen-member charter commission of the village of AMHERST, OHIO, has divided sharply on the question of strong-mayor versus council-manager government, with a slight preponderance for the latter. It decided to hold a poll of the registered voters, after distribution of educational material.

The charter commission of EATON, OHIO, has decided unanimously to prepare a home rule council-manager charter. Under Ohio law this would involve a council of five with staggered terms, the chairman of which would serve as mayor. The council would appoint the manager, clerk, treasurer, auditor and solicitor.

PARKERSBURG, WEST VIRGINIA, rejected a proposed council-manager charter on September 13 by a vote of 4,272 to 3,996.

Petitions calling for a referendum on adoption of the council-manager plan have been filed in EDWARDSVILLE, ILLINOIS. They had been circulated primarily by the League of Women Voters. A referendum on the plan in 1957 resulted in a heavy adverse vote. The league has conducted an intensive educational campaign this year.

At a special election on August 16 the

voters of MARSHALL, MINNESOTA, defeated a proposed council-manager charter 731 to 607. The city now has a statutory mayor-council plan.

BLOOMINGTON, MINNESOTA, which has a statutory council-manager plan, defeated a proposed new council-manager charter by a vote of 2,902 to 2,055 on July 26. The proposed charter would have changed the at-large system of electing the council to a combined system of election at large and by wards, would have made the civil service system more flexible and would have somewhat changed the anti-liquor local option situation.

FORT SMITH, ARKANSAS, voted 4,944 to 3,649 against a council-manager proposal on August 16. The present commission plan, with a mayor and two commissioners, will continue. Eureka Springs is reported to be the only other Arkansas city with commission government.

Recommend Mayor Charters In Three Cities

Three charter commissions have recommended the strong-mayor form of government for their cities.

In Syracuse, New York, the charter revision committee has presented an up-to-date version of the city's present strong-mayor government. It calls for a director of budget and administration to aid the mayor and a department of urban improvement, combining the functions of urban renewal, code enforcement and licensing.

The charter commission of Mountain Lakes, New Jersey, has recommended the mayor-council plan and provides for a business administrator appointed by the mayor, with the consent of the council, who heads a department of administration.

In Jersey City, New Jersey, the charter study commission has recommended abolition of the present commission form, which it regards as obsolete, and substitution of a strong-mayor gov-

ernment as is now in use in Hoboken and Newark.

A.K.S.

Many Texas Cities Have Master Plans

Seven out of ten Texas cities with more than 10,000 population are guiding growth by master plans.

A survey by the Texas Municipal League shows 68 of the state's 101 cities in this population range now have or are in the process of making master plans. Of the 25 cities without master plans, 22 are under 25,000 population. Status of master planning in eight cities was not reported.

The TML survey showed: All of Texas' largest metropolitan cities now follow master plans; in the 25,000-49,999 population range, seventeen of twenty cities have master plans; in the 10,000-24,999 bracket, 38 of 60 cities have master plans.

Executive Director Steve Matthews of the Texas Municipal League, commenting on the survey, said: "At the start of municipal government's most challenging decade in Texas, it is very encouraging that most of our cities have adopted the basic tool of sound city government. Planning not only assures our families better cities in which to live but it is the first essential to fiscal responsibility at the local level."

W.J.D.B.

Consider Consultation Services for Alaska Cities

The Alaska State Division of Local Affairs is considering development of a new program of consultation to cities and other local governments, according to the League of Alaskan Cities. The newly appointed director, Roger Pegues, has sent out a questionnaire to municipal officials of the state to determine interest in and need for various types of consultation services. As initially conceived, the program would possibly call upon the larger cities to supply certain of these

services to other Alaska local governments and would make the services available to interested cities on a state-local contribution basis.

A.K.S.

Colorado, Texas Hold Mayor-Council Institutes

For the first time in each state municipal leagues in Colorado and Texas, in cooperation with universities, have held institutes this year, to better acquaint mayors, councilmen and commissioners, especially newly elected officials, with their functions and problems.

The Colorado institute was held in Boulder at the University of Colorado, sponsored by the Colorado Municipal League and the university's Department of Political Science and Bureau of Continuation Education. It was attended by 61 persons from 23 cities.

In Texas the institute was held at Austin and was sponsored by the Institute of Public Affairs and the Extension Division of the University of Texas, in cooperation with the Texas Municipal League and the Texas Association of Mayors, Councilmen and Commissioners. There was an attendance of 175 from 76 cities during the two days of the institute, which dealt with many aspects of municipal government.

Kansas League Marks Golden Anniversary

The 50th anniversary of the founding of the League of Kansas Municipalities was celebrated at the league's convention on September 18-20 in Wichita, the city where officials from 34 Kansas cities met on May 19, 1910, to form the league. An anniversary program included speakers of statewide and national prominence as well as sessions on current municipal topics. The theme was "The Challenge of the Future." Among the scheduled speakers was John G. Stutz, who was executive director of the league for 35 years, retiring in 1955. The present director is Ernest A. Mosher.

Inter-American Municipal Meeting in San Diego

The eighth biennial congress of the Inter-American Municipal Organization will be held in San Diego, California, October 16 to 22. Several hundred mayors, councilmen and city administrators from North, Central and South America are expected to attend. The meetings will feature a case study approach to municipal government and administration in the Americas, divided into three main topics—the legal basis and structure of municipal government, its functions and citizen participation.

Papers will be presented on the government of San Diego (a council-manager city) and parallel reports will be given for U.S. cities in general and on municipal government "south of the border." One session will be devoted to council-manager government because of the interest it holds for Latin America.

The San Diego State College is rendering secretariat service and will also hold a seminar for local officials on the relationship between local government and community development after the Congress.

Letter to the Editor

To the Editor

NATIONAL CIVIC REVIEW:

It was good to see the NATIONAL CIVIC REVIEW for September (page 426) stress consideration given to urban problems in the 1960 platforms of the two major parties. May I call attention to an important statement in the Democratic platform which was not mentioned: "We will give the city dweller a voice at the Cabinet table by bringing together within a single department programs concerned with urban and metropolitan problems."

ROBERT C. WOOD

Massachusetts Institute of
Technology

Metropolitan Areas*William N. Cassella, Jr., Editor*

Bay Area Cities, Counties Organize

Form Association to Deal With Metropolitan Problems

A NEW approach to the solution of regional problems in the San Francisco Bay Area is taking shape. The Association of Bay Area Governments, now nearing the end of its formative stage, is considered a new high in city-county cooperation in California.

The association will be organized to provide a permanent forum for the study and discussion of metropolitan problems of mutual concern to the cities and counties of the area and for the development of policy and recommendations aimed at the solution of these problems.

All nine counties and 84 cities surrounding San Francisco Bay, representing a population of over 3,500,000, are eligible for membership. It is expected that the organization will hold its first meeting in October or November, with at least 42 member cities and five member counties represented.

The Association of Bay Area Governments is the result of a realization that local leadership is needed in solving problems which require policy development and action on an area-wide basis. Many proposals for state legislation regarding Bay Area problems have been put forth in recent years and other ideas and plans are being propounded in increasing numbers. After reviewing these suggestions city and county representatives became convinced that only through an organization providing for joint action by local governments could legislation and other acceptable solutions be obtained.

The association is not proposed as a governmental or quasi-governmental

agency which would provide any metropolitan service directly or exercise any substantive governmental powers. Its purpose is to study problems and facilitate discussion by the representatives of the cities and counties, in order that recommendations regarding regional problems may be made to member units and to the legislature.

Many factors have contributed to formation of the association. Paramount is the strong belief in the principle of home rule held by California cities and counties.

The seed which has blossomed into the association was planted in 1958 with adoption by the League of California Cities of a "Statement of Principles on Metropolitan Problems." These principles were developed as a guide in formulating and judging proposals for the solution of metropolitan area problems. As a part of these "Principles" it was suggested that each of California's metropolitan areas could initiate local action through the formation of metropolitan councils or other such regional organizations of local governments.

Consideration of this suggestion was initiated in the Bay Area, in July 1959, with a meeting of an *ad hoc* Mayors' Program Committee consisting of a representative of one city from each of the area's nine counties. This committee considered it extremely desirable to call a meeting, bringing together representatives of the cities to discuss formation of a Bay Area metropolitan council.

This meeting was held in October 1959 and was attended by representatives of 56 of the 84 area cities. The meeting authorized the program committee to proceed with development of a set of governing principles and by-laws for a metropolitan council or association. Shortly after, the membership of the program committee was increased from

nine to eleven cities and the group began work on a set of by-laws.

It was brought to the attention of the Mayors' Program Committee that the boards of supervisors of the nine Bay Area counties were considering formation of a similar organization and that a County Supervisors' Committee had been formed to study the matter. Arrangements were soon made for the two groups to join forces in the hope that they might reach agreement on a single organization to include both cities and counties.

After many joint meetings and much discussion a joint city-county organization was agreed upon. It will have the following functions as set out in the proposed by-laws:

A. Review of Governmental Proposals.—The review of proposals for metropolitan area or regional governmental units or agencies and the making of appropriate policy or action recommendations;

B. Study of Metropolitan Area problems.—Identification and study of problems, functions and services in the San Francisco Bay Metropolitan Area and the making of appropriate policy or action recommendations.

The association will have a general assembly—the important policy-making body—composed of one member from each city council, who may be either the mayor or a councilman, and one member from each board of supervisors, who may be the chairman or another member of the board. The General Assembly will decide upon the research program and, in addition, has the vital function of reviewing and adopting the annual budget and assessment schedule. The General Assembly will meet twice each year, in the spring and in the fall.

The association's by-laws provide for a "dual" system of voting in the General Assembly in order to insure equality between cities and counties. Two separate votes are taken on any given matter—one for the city and one for the county

representatives. In order for a positive action or recommendation to be made, there must be a majority vote on the part of both the groups. Thus the numerical disparity between the 84 cities and the nine counties is overcome.

In order that the association may operate effectively and have continuity, provision has also been made for an executive committee, consisting of one representative from each county board of supervisors and one city representative from each county. In addition, the executive committee may appoint not more than six other members at large, all of whom must be elected officials of member jurisdictions. Voting in the executive committee is on a more conventional basis than in the General Assembly. A simple majority of a quorum of the executive committee is required to take action on most matters.

* * *

The executive committee has the function of reviewing the budget and submitting it to the General Assembly for approval. After adoption of the budget, the committee will control all expenditures in accordance with the budget. In addition to its powers of budget preparation and expenditure supervision, the executive committee has authority to appoint, fix the salary of and remove the executive director of the association, to appoint committees to study specific problems, and to submit reports to the General Assembly with comments and recommendations.

The officers of the association will consist of a president, vice president and secretary-treasurer. The president and vice president are to be chosen annually by the General Assembly from among the official representatives and shall alternately be a city representative and a county representative.

Provision has been made for a paid executive director and staff to provide continuity, conduct studies and make

investigations as directed by the executive committee under policies established by the General Assembly. The executive director will prepare a proposed annual budget for submission to the committee and the assembly.

* * *

The association will be financed by annual assessments paid by each member city and county. Collectively the cities will pay half the cost of operation and the counties the other half. The city half will be divided among the member municipalities according to the proportion that each city's population bears to the total population of all member cities. Similarly, the half of the cost paid by the counties will be apportioned according to population.

The proposal, consisting of a set of by-laws and a Joint Exercise of Powers contract, as finally formulated and approved by the Joint Mayors' and Supervisors' Committee, was presented at a meeting attended by representatives of 55 of the 84 cities and of all nine counties on May 5, 1960. The proposal was approved after some modification. Subsequently the contract was submitted to each Bay Area city and county for formal execution. The Association of Bay Area Governments is being created as an agency established by agreement among its members, pursuant to what is known in California as the Joint Exercise of Powers Act (Title 1, Division 7, Chapter 5 of the California Government Code). Under that act, cities and counties are authorized to exercise jointly any of those powers which they may exercise individually. Cities and counties may join a research and study organization such as the association because, individually, they possess the power to study local and metropolitan area problems of direct concern to the performance of their constitutional and statutory functions, and they may join organizations and spend public funds for these purposes.

Each city and county joining the association will execute an agreement, drawn pursuant to the Joint Exercise of Powers Act, by and between itself and every other participating city and county. The Association of Bay Area Governments is designated as the agency to administer the agreement.

In the near future, if all goes well, there will be an operating organization of Bay Area cities and counties working together to study area-wide problems and to make positive and constructive proposals for their ultimate solution.

JAMES M. FALES, JR.
*Administrative Assistant
to the City Manager*

Berkeley, California

Congress Acts on D. C. Metropolitan Problems

Congressional action in 1960 on problems of the national capital area has been described as "a definite step forward" by members of the Washington Metropolitan Regional Conference. Three bills of major significance passed: the National Capital Transportation Agency bill, the Interstate Regulatory Compact bill, and the Potomac River Sewer Interceptor bill. Congressional interest in the area has been increased by efforts of the Joint Congressional Committee on Washington Metropolitan Problems.¹

The National Capital Transportation Agency will make plans to develop mass rapid transportation for the metropolitan area. The Interstate Regulatory Compact, previously approved by the Maryland and Virginia legislatures, provides for the regulation of private transportation companies in the area.

The Potomac River Sewer Interceptor legislation is considered an important victory by the Washington Metropolitan Regional Conference's Committee on

¹ See the REVIEW, July 1959, page 361.

Water Supply and Pollution Abatement, which has devoted major efforts to the "clean-up" of the Potomac and the protection of the area's water supply. The bill authorizes the District of Columbia government to construct a \$25 million sewer interceptor to service the new Dulles International Airport at Chantilly, Maryland, adjacent areas in Maryland and parts of Fairfax and Loudoun Counties in Virginia. The costs of the project are to be repaid by fees charged the users.

The Metropolitan Regional Conference is composed of the elected heads of the counties and cities in the area, the District of Columbia Board of Commissioners, congressmen and members of the two state legislatures of the area. District Commissioner Robert E. McLaughlin is chairman of the conference, which maintains its offices in the District Building. Its secretariat is headed by Samuel Humes.

Twin Cities Plan Reports Issued

Topical studies which will provide the basic framework for goals and policies to metropolitan development in the Minneapolis-St. Paul area are being published by the Twin Cities Metropolitan Planning Commission (St. Paul). A book, *Guide for Metropolitan Growth*, will be released next year incorporating many of the findings of these reports.

The first study, *The Challenge of Metropolitan Growth*, was released in December 1958. It was followed in August 1959 by the *Metropolitan Population Study* and in February 1960 Part I of *Metropolitan Water Study* appeared. Each was 33 pages in length.

Beginning in the spring of this year, studies have been released more frequently with reports in April, June, July and August.

The early reports cited the probability

that by 1980 the area will have a population of 2,300,000. The *Metropolitan Land Study* (April 1960, 53 pages) was undertaken to facilitate accommodation of the 800,000 new residents anticipated. The Twin Cities area is blessed with an abundance of usable land. On the basis of current trends, sufficient industrial sites are available for the needs of the next two hundred years.

Naturally, not all parts of the region are equally endowed with suitable development potential. The *Metropolitan Land Study* discusses the climatic, topographical, geological and drainage features of the seven-county area. Each section includes charts and maps of the topic covered.

* * *

Attention is also given to the cultural environment and its role as a factor in determining the shape of future growth. Land ownership, use, subdivision and zoning are given particular emphasis.

The Twin Cities location at the juncture of three major economic and physical regions of North America forms a prominent feature of *Metropolitan Economic Study* (June 1960, 65 pages), fifth publication in the series. Minneapolis and St. Paul are on the westernmost edge of the industrial-economic heartland of the United States and Canada, at the southern rim of the "North Woods" region and the eastern fringe of the Northern Plains-Great Plains area. The advantages and disadvantages to this northwest-central locale are closely scrutinized.

An economic history covers the area from early settlement—when water power from the Falls of St. Anthony gave impetus to Minneapolis' growth and ease of land-to-water cargo shifts gave St. Paul an economic assist—to the modern age of rail and water transit, the milling industry, wholesale trade, meat packing, beverage, metal and machinery manufacturing.

Employment conditions in the Twin Cities area are encouraging. Satisfactory postwar development has seen the region hold its own in the over-all national economy. Shifts in industry within the metropolitan area, growth indicators, wholesale and retail trade analysis are features of the concluding sections of the report.

The two latest studies are: *Metropolitan Water Study, Part II* (June 1960, 57 pages) and *Metropolitan Sewerage Study* (August 1960, 33 pages).

W.J.D.B.

Land Use Planning in Milwaukee Area

Metropolitan Milwaukee is defined as Milwaukee County and a belt at least six miles wide to the west and north of the county. Closely related to the greater metropolitan region and interdependent with Milwaukee County are the six counties of Kenosha, Ozaukee, Racine, Walworth, Washington and Waukesha. *Land Use Planning in the Metropolitan Milwaukee Area* (May 1960, 49 pages), the final report of the Metropolitan Study Committee's Committee on Land Use and Zoning, makes recommendations for the entire region.

The four recommendations are: creation of a regional planning commission for as many of the seven counties as possible; organization of a planning department for Milwaukee County; that municipalities should be required by legislation to give advance notice to adjoining communities of proposed actions affecting land use along their common boundaries; that local governmental units give their elective bodies representation on planning agency boards. All members of the Land Use and Zoning Committee concurred in the recommendations save one, whose minority report is appended to the main document.

The report discusses the proper role of land use planning, harmful conse-

quences of lack of planning, causes for failure in the planning process, manner in which the recommendations will avoid such pitfalls, limitations of alternative suggestions, and suggested manner in which to institute the committee's recommendations.

Appendices include the original recommendations of earlier reports, the minority report and a copy of the resolution establishing the office of director of county planning for Milwaukee County.

New York Regional Council Seeks Legal Status

The New York Metropolitan Regional Council at its June meeting approved draft legislation designed to give the council legal status. The legislation will be submitted to the legislatures of New York, New Jersey and Connecticut.

The proposed legislation provides no operating powers for the regional agency but does make its structure formal and authorizes a permanent secretariat to be supported by the constituent governments.

The council's program will continue to consist largely of studies dealing with the principal problems of the region, including traffic and transportation, recreation, land use and open space, air and water pollution, water supply and waste disposal, regional planning, housing and urban redevelopment.

It is anticipated that the agency's expanded research program will enable it to develop policy proposals which can be submitted to the governors and legislatures of the three states involved as well as the Congress and administrative agencies of the federal government.

Membership in the council is made up of the top elected officials of the counties and larger municipalities in the New York region.

Virginia Counties Get New Options

Plan Set Up for Use of Urban-Rural Areas

VIRGINIA'S 1960 General Assembly gave the more populous counties of the state new optional forms of government,¹ adding features to the existing county executive and county manager options designed to produce a system capable of serving large and populous urban-rural areas.

The new option, available to counties which have passed the 90,000 population mark, is known as the "Fairfax Urban County Plan." The proposal was developed in that county as an alternative to county-wide incorporation as a means of meeting its peculiar growth problems. Fairfax is the most rapidly growing suburban county in the national capital area. With a jump of almost 164,000 between the 1950 census (98,557) and the 1960 preliminary figures (262,000) Fairfax may have the distinction of being the fastest growing county east of California.

There is a particular reason for Virginia's concern for urban counties. As a result of her system of city-county separation, a first-class city (a status available to municipalities which have passed the 10,000 population mark) becomes an entity completely separate from the county in which it is situated. Any town of over 5,000 may become a second-class city, separate from the county except for the privilege of sharing the courts and court-related officials. No

city is part of a county for tax purposes.

This means that the breaking-up game is played for keeps in Virginia. It also means that urban areas that have not chosen to go to city status must rely on a county and its town subunits for necessary services.

Several populous areas of the state have had the luck or the wisdom to avoid the breaking-up routine. Their county governments have modernized and have accepted the responsibility for providing a full range of services to their urban areas. In spite of this record, the ease with which areas in Virginia can incorporate and annex leave county territory under the constant threat of fracturing into municipal pieces.

The League of Virginia Municipalities recognized that this battle against fragmentation was one-sided and in a 1959 Committee report commented:

The General Assembly should enact legislation, either by special act or general law of local application, to strengthen metropolitan county government in order to better enable the metropolitan counties to meet their problems and provide or secure the necessary services for an urban county.²

The Urban County Plan, as stated above, builds on the existing executive and manager options and adds these features:

1. The county is divided into districts which serve both electoral and service purposes.
2. The district boundaries are drawn by the county governing body and replace the magisterial (election) district lines traditionally drawn by the circuit court.

¹ When the 1960 Statutes of Virginia are in print, these forms will be found in Chapter 382. The law will be cited in the Code of Virginia, 1950, as amended, as follows: "Title 15, Chapter 12.1, Sections 15-384.10 through 15-384.80."

² Statement of Committee on Consolidation of Local Governments of the League of Virginia Municipalities to the Virginia Advisory Legislative Council, Richmond, May 1959, page 10.

3. District lines must be redrawn every ten years and one redistricting may take place in the interim period if based on a special U.S. census.

4. District lines are to be based on considerations of size, population, community of interest and the need for services not provided on a county-wide basis.

5. The districts are designed primarily to provide services at cost, for all or part of the district, with the fiscal burden placed directly on the residents benefiting from the service. The county government will provide the service and assess and collect the taxes or service charges.

6. The electorate determines whether or not a five-man elected commission shall be set up in each district.

7. If district commissions are used they are to be launched with minimum powers but others may be added. The law states their powers as follows:

a. To determine the number, type and extent of services to be provided within the district at district expense;

b. To prepare and make public recommendations in the field of planning and zoning, which recommendations shall have a place on the agenda of the urban county board of supervisors; and

c. To perform any duties and functions delegated to such district commissions by the urban county board of supervisors.

8. The urban county law forbids creation of any new municipalities within a county adopting the new option. Considerations of political practicality dictated that existing internal towns be left with their territory, their annexation privileges and their legal right to assume city status intact.

9. Provision is made for internal towns and cities, or adjoining cities, to join the county's district pattern as districts or parts of existing districts. The procedure for such a change of status is made simple, involving only a formal

agreement between town or city and county governing bodies, and the subsequent dissolution of any municipal charter in the case of a city or town having a charter.

The new urban county option adds to the forms previously available to populous counties the district system and protection against new internal incorporations. The goals sought are these:

1. Flexible, regular and realistic districting by the governing body and not the courts;

2. A more effective method of extending services to areas with diverse needs;

3. A tax differential system requiring urban areas to carry the burden for urban or "municipal-type" services not provided throughout the county;

4. An increased number of contacts between residents in an extensive jurisdiction (Fairfax County covers 409 square miles) and the county governing body;

5. Territorial protection against both the internal break-up of an area into numerous municipal pieces and attrition by annexation.

* * *

This last goal is a key part of the philosophy of the plan. The proposal is based on the conviction that under certain circumstances a county may well be a better governmental canopy than a large municipality or a collection of town and city units. These circumstances would most probably be found in the more than one hundred standard metropolitan areas that are essentially embraced within one county and in the metropolitan counties of the future in which, it may be hoped, the mistakes of the past can be at least partially avoided.

Another basic idea on which the plan was constructed is the belief that a subunit of government can be built at the local level that will satisfy a sense of community identity and provide an acceptable degree of community impact on government—all this without inter-

fering with the power of the county government to solve county-wide problems. If this is possible, then education, tax assessing and collecting, over-all planning and zoning, water supply and distribution, and like area problems can be solved with common talents and resources; while street lighting, sidewalks, curbs and gutters, community cultural facilities and the like, may be provided to suit the tastes and pocketbooks of diverse parts of a diverse area.

* * *

The basic question, which probably can be answered only by an actual test, is this: can the residents of an area be given enough of an impact on community matters to satisfy them, without giving them the independent taxing power and the control of planning and zoning which municipal status is generally used to achieve?

It is easy to answer this question with a glib "no." Such an answer may fail to reflect:

1. The growing concern for the solution of the larger local problems;
2. An increasing awareness of the necessity of size in handling such expanding items as education, multiple water supplies, jet-age airports and the local transportation needed to get to the "jet-ports";
3. The rising awareness in local and state leadership that a better job simply has to be done at the lowest level if the higher levels are to be left free to concentrate on their most logical tasks.
4. The endless possibilities for meaningful variations in the realm between no local taxing and planning powers and complete local powers in these fields.

In the urban county plan, for example, a district council would not have the power to tax but it would have the power to obligate its residents to pay for services not provided on a county-wide basis. Education, the major fiscal obligation of any local government with a complete

set of powers, is already county-wide in Fairfax. The broad protective services, such as police and fire protection, are organized on a county-wide basis. The urban extras which residents under the new plan could demand would be close in number and size to the services a town would provide in the same section. How different then is the town power to tax from the power of district commissions to obligate for local services?

In planning and zoning the district commission would have the power to advise. This could be a compelling power or no power at all, depending on political realities. Its actual effect would undoubtedly fall about halfway between. District involvement in planning could be increased by degrees, and could in time be brought to include a local veto of any county action which would lower the standards set by the master plan. This could be an absolute or a qualified veto. In either case it could be applied without interfering with the county's basic power to plan for the whole area. At the same time it would increase local control over the level below which community standards could not fall, once established.

A plan for the future should be a flexible plan; it should embrace a sizeable enough area to match the size of local area problems; it should provide tax fairness through some provision for a tax differential; it must satisfy the needs for essential services; it must fulfill the desires for local self-expression and self-control.

The search for a pattern of local government that possesses these features is an engaging one. It is especially important for the sectors which are approaching metropolitan status. The county should not be overlooked as a possible framework within which such a system can be achieved.

DON R. LARSON

Great Falls,
Fairfax County, Virginia

County Government Ends in Connecticut

Fairfield, Hartford, Litchfield, Middlesex, New Haven, New London, Tolland and Windham Counties: born Connecticut Colony, 1666; died state of Connecticut, October 1, 1960. Death followed protracted illness, diagnosed as slow attrition of powers, that ended with issuance of death certificate by the 1959 session of the Connecticut General Assembly.

All the assets and most of the employees of the eight Connecticut counties were scheduled to be taken over by the state government on October 1, 1960.¹ Each of the counties has been governed by a three-member, part-time board of county commissioners whose only major duty in recent years has been the operation of county buildings, including joint supervision of the county jails with the county sheriff. All other powers had previously been assumed by the state over the course of many years.

Direction of the eight county jails will henceforth be handled by a state jail administrator. Harold E. Hegstrom, former warden of the Federal Correctional Institution at Danbury, has been appointed to this post.

A statute eliminated county powers but the state constitution makes provision for the position of elected county sheriff. Sheriffs' posts, therefore, were not abolished along with the unit of government they formerly served. If stripped of the power to administer the jails, the sheriffs' sole function of any importance would be to name deputy sheriffs to serve court papers. Mr. Hegstrom had intended to appoint the sheriffs as deputies to run the jails. However, the statute that abolished county powers and granted the jail administrator power to appoint deputy jailers also stipulated that said jailers must be

civil service employees. The 1961 General Assembly will be presented with the problem.

Effective December 31, 1960, the minor court system of the state, the town courts, will be replaced by a state circuit court system.

W.J.D.B.

Wisconsin Again Studies County Government

The Wisconsin legislature in its 1959 session established a committee of legislators and citizens to study possible changes in the structure and functions of Wisconsin county government and to report its findings to the 1961 legislative session. John Wyngaard reports in *Wisconsin Counties* that Professor James R. Donoghue and associates of the University of Wisconsin, at the request of the committee, have drawn up an agenda of specific topics for committee consideration.

Heading the list, and suggested for study as a first order of business, is the uniformity clause of the Wisconsin constitution which requires the state's 70 counties other than Milwaukee to be organized in the same manner. Other topics suggested for committee consideration include: (1) The need for a county executive, perhaps somewhat similar to the one recently provided for Milwaukee County,¹ (2) the need for area-wide governmental services in urban communities which overlap municipal boundary lines, and (3) the system of representation on county boards which frequently results in boards unduly large for action in an administrative capacity.

Other studies of county government in Wisconsin have been made in the past without result. There seems to be some reason to believe, however, that the climate of opinion concerning county organization may have undergone change

¹ See the REVIEW, October 1959, page 483.

¹ See the REVIEW, April 1960, page 202.

in recent years. Thus there appears to be growing agreement on the part of county officials and the general citizenry that the rigidities which served satisfactorily in early times may be inadequate to serve present-day needs.

Study Townships In a Missouri County

Missouri is one of the few states in which the maintenance of township government is optional with the counties and township government now exists in only 24 of the state's 114 counties. *A Pilot Study of Township Government in Vernon County, Missouri*, by the Missouri Public Expenditure Survey,¹ is an analysis of township services, costs and problems in one of those 24 counties.

The general conclusions of the study are little different from those of similar surveys of township government elsewhere in the Midwest, viz., that this form of local government is unduly costly, inefficient and inconvenient. Local services, it is believed, could be provided more efficiently and economically if township organization were abandoned and its functions transferred to the county.

Principal present-day township functions are: (1) Road construction and maintenance, (2) property assessment, (3) tax collection and (4) administration of township elections. Abandonment of township organization would eliminate the necessity for township elections and each of the other three functions could better be performed on a county-unit basis.

Vernon County has twenty townships. In each of these a township board usually meets at least once a month, with four officials being paid for attendance. The twenty townships own 23 road graders although, on a county-unit basis, nine graders, manned by experienced

operators and working full time as weather permits, could do a better job than is now being done with the 23. As it is, township road machinery is idle all but about 60 days a year, while a large annual depreciation cost accrues. Over-all, it is estimated that abandonment of township organization in favor of county-unit government would result in savings in administrative costs exceeding 14 per cent of total township expenditures.

"Of the benefits to be derived from a transition to county unit government," the report concludes, "some are translatable into monetary terms. . . . But also of substantial importance would be other benefits in the form of savings and improved service that cannot be so easily measured. These include such benefits as an effective over-all county road plan, the greater attention that can be paid to performance of duties by full-time officials and employees, more uniform assessment rolls and more efficient tax collection. Abandonment of township organization in favor of county unit government would be most advantageous to the citizens and taxpayers of Vernon County."

NACO Holds Silver Anniversary Conference

More than 2,200 members attended the silver anniversary conference of the National Association of County Officials held at Miami, Florida, August 14-17. "Counties and the Federal Government" was the theme of this, the largest gathering in the history of the organization.

Following a welcoming address by NACO President William E. Dennison and a taped message from President Eisenhower, the first business session was devoted to study of the administrative organization of the host, Dade County. County Commissioner Walter Weiss presided at the session in which Dade County Manager O.W. Campbell,

¹ 222 East Dunklin Street, Jefferson City, Missouri, May 1960. 10 pages, \$1.00.

Board Chairman Ben McGahey and six of the county department heads spoke. The afternoon was spent touring the departments and facilities described.

The second business day consisted of morning discussion workshops and an afternoon spent at a picnic and barbecue at Miami's Crandon Park plus visits to the Seaquarium and Zoo. The morning workshops dealt with natural resources, education and mental health, welfare and public health, civil defense, air pollution, local problems caused by federal property holdings and roads and highways. The day's serious activities were ended by a series of luncheons on roads and highways, automation, record keeping, voting and financial management.

On the final day many noted speakers addressed the NACO group: speaking to the delegates by phone, Senators John F. Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson and Vice President Richard Nixon, major candidates in the fall election, noted the important role of the county in American government. Other speakers were Senator Thruston Morton, Republican National Committee chairman; Senator Estes Kefauver of Tennessee; Raymond J. Saulnier, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers; and Austin Kiplinger, Washington newsletter and magazine publisher.

The conference members passed several resolutions: emphasizing the need for better civilian defense, it was recommended that the federal government make home bomb shelters tax deductible; Dade County was congratulated on its efforts toward developing more effective and economical local government; opposition was expressed to a current proposal to grant Congress power to review in detail the internal operations of state agencies created by interstate compacts; national programs on urban transportation and litter control were advocated; and it was urged that federal real property holdings be maintained at a minimum.

Dan W. Gray, chairman of the board

of Calhoun County, Alabama, is the new president of NACO. W.J.D.B.

Maine Counties Organize

County officials in the state of Maine met in Augusta in April and organized the Maine Counties Association. The association, as reported in *The County Officer*, published by the National Association of County Officials, "is composed of state associations of commissioners, sheriffs, attorneys and treasurers, clerks of court, registrars of probate, judges of probate and registrars of deeds, all previously organized independently. The separate county offices will continue to maintain their associations but all county officials in the state are banding together to support the Maine Counties Association. This brings to nine the number of states that have organized state associations of counties in the past year."

County Newsletter For Kansas

The initial issue of a newsletter entitled *The Kansas County Commissioner*, published by the League of Kansas Municipalities, appeared in March. The newsletter will contain primarily information and news items of special interest to Kansas county commissioners and it is planned to issue the bulletin as frequently as available material justifies. County commissioners throughout the state are invited to contribute to the newsletter and, through it, to share their experiences and problems with fellow commissioners.

News items included in the first issue concern such matters as local home rule, mental health clinics, manuals for county officials, federal planning grants, revision of road and highway statutes, county employees under social security, civil defense plans, county zoning and 1960 legislative highlights.

Manager Proposal Hits Snag

In mid-April there was considerable discussion in Dawson County, located in the east central part of Montana near the North Dakota western boundary, regarding the possibility of establishing a county manager form of government. Newspapers of the state, during the period April 11 to April 16, mentioned the interest of residents of the county in the manager plan. However, on Monday, April 18, the *Great Falls Tribune* carried an article indicating:

"Possibility of a county manager form of government for Dawson County apparently fizzled during a public meeting. A. S. Erickson, who said he was acting as temporary chairman for a group of citizens interested in the movement, commented that it appeared the 50 persons attending opposed the move. Erickson added that he was resigning the chairmanship and, to his knowledge, no future meetings were planned."

The article indicated that, according to Erickson, the new form of government was suggested in an effort to "streamline the county government and give it more central control." Apparently, it had been planned that if the proposal was well accepted petitions would be circulated to place the issue before the voters in the next election. Under this system the county commissioners would appoint a county manager who, with the approval of the county commissioners, would make appointments to most offices now filled by election, such as those of assessor and clerk and recorder. Only the offices of the commissioners and the county attorney would remain elective. All other county employees would be appointed on recom-

mendation of the manager with approval of the board.

R. R. RENNE, *President*
Montana State College

South Dakota to Vote On Officer Re-eligibility

The South Dakota electorate will vote in November on a proposed constitutional amendment which, if adopted, will make six elective county officers—auditor, register of deeds, treasurer, state's attorney, surveyor and coroner—eligible for election to more than two successive two-year terms. As originally adopted in 1889, the South Dakota constitution imposed a two-term limit also upon the superintendent of schools and the sheriff, but the restriction was lifted by amendment in 1936 and 1954, respectively. The clerk of courts has never been subjected to a re-eligibility limitation. A proposal to make all constitutional county officers eligible for an unlimited number of terms was defeated in 1950.

Illinois Broadens Services to Coroners

Progress toward a sound statewide medical examiner system has been made in Illinois by the further development of central toxicological laboratory service in the state Department of Health. A \$200,000 appropriation has been made for the purpose of testing specimens submitted by coroners and other law enforcement officers in their efforts to determine whether poisonous or radioactive substances have been involved in deaths, accidents or illnesses. This is to supplement the existing work of the state Advisory Board on Necropsy Service to Coroners. Coroners are still elective under the Illinois constitution.

R.S.C.

Proportional Representation

George H. Hallett, Jr.,
and Wm. Redin Woodward, Editors

Conn. Requires Minority Voice

Law Limits Majority on Boards and Commissions

A LAW passed by the 1959 legislature, limiting the number of members of a single party who may serve on any board, commission, committee or similar body of the state or its subdivisions, went into effect on July 1. According to a report in the *Connecticut Voter*, published by the League of Women Voters of that state:

There shall be no more than two members of the same political party on a three-man board and no more than four on boards of five or six members. For boards of nine and over, the membership from a single party shall not exceed two-thirds of the total. There is no requirement that the remaining places be filled by the minority party as such.

The law exempts those boards and commissions which are elected "on the basis of a geographical division [wards or single-member districts] of the state or its political subdivisions." Persons already in office on July 1 are not affected until their terms expire.

Two of the criticisms of the new law are these:

(1) The exemption from its provisions of boards and commissions elected on a single-member district basis. "This exemption has been interpreted as a device whereby cities normally under Democratic control and electing their boards of aldermen from single-member districts can continue to disregard the minority party." It is mechanically impossible, however, to provide for minority representation on such boards.

(2) The law does not affect cities and

towns whose charters provide for non-partisan elections. A possible result is that a board or commission whose members are not elected under party labels could actually be made up of persons enrolled in a single political party.

According to the *Connecticut Voter*, various parts of the law will need clarification by the 1961 legislature.

Some communities in Connecticut have already provided for minority representation, electing their representative bodies by the so-called "limited vote." In Hartford, for example, with nine members to be elected at large to the city council, each voter casts his ballot for only six.

Hamilton Report Upholds P. R.

Seven members of the thirteen-member Mayor's Advisory Committee to Study Methods of Selecting Councilmen for the City of Hamilton have recommended that the Hare system of proportional representation, used in that Ohio city since 1927, be "the recommended system." Five voted it "an acceptable system" and only one said it is "undesirable."

All thirteen members voted against the ward system. Three voted to recommend election at large without a primary (and without P. R.), two voted it as acceptable and eight as undesirable. As to election at large with a primary, one recommended such a system, six voted it acceptable and five undesirable.

Four members voted in favor of increasing the number of councilmen from seven to nine; nine members voted against such increase.

After studying the report, received in July, the city council voted five to two not to place the question of the retention of P. R., as had been advocated by

(Continued on page 522)

Taxation and Finance

William J. D. Boyd, Editor

Transportation Key To S. F. Growth

Bridges, Rapid Transit Prominent News Makers

TRANSPORTATION facilities and growth potential are being closely linked, according to reports and plans emanating from the San Francisco Bay Area.¹

A recently released report of the Army Corps of Engineers indicates that by the year 2020 the population of the nine-county Bay Area of northern California will quadruple to a total of 14.4 million people. The report, prepared for the Corps of Engineers by the Commerce Department's Office of Area Development, was predicated upon the assumption that adequate water and transportation facilities will be provided to meet such growth.

In November, Californians will vote on the state's \$1,750,000,000 water program.

Transportation is a major topic of discussion in the area. The Redwood Empire Association has reported that traffic records for crossings of the Golden Gate Bridge have been broken three times this summer. The old record of 70,542 in one day, set June 21, 1959, was topped on June 19, 1960, again on July 17 and once more on July 24, when 73,771 vehicles passed the toll booths. For the fiscal year ending June 30, a total of 18,810,807 vehicles had used the bridge; this was a 6.9 per cent increase over the previous year. Net income for the bridge, after payment of operating and maintenance costs and bond maturities and interest, totaled \$1,319,067. The bridge

has earned its way since the day it was opened—May 27, 1937.

Three other Bay Area bridges have reported new records. The San Francisco-Oakland Bay Bridge had 3,428,041 crossings in the month of July—a daily average of 110,582. The Carquinez Bridge total for the same month was 1,312,027—a daily average of 42,323. Crossings of the Richmond-San Rafael Bridge were 335,657—a daily average of 10,828.

Meanwhile, plans are going ahead for the creation of a five-county rapid transit system. The San Francisco Rapid Transit District has released a \$925,899,000 plan which would include \$909 million for the approximately hundred-mile-long first stage of construction. Under present enabling legislation, financing of capital expenditures can be obtained only through general obligation bonds secured at 15 per cent of the assessed valuation of the five counties. Though the counties are growing rapidly, present borrowing capacity would total only \$700 million. Various alternative means of financing are being discussed—a local sales tax, lease purchase of facilities, participation by public agencies and state aid.

Part of the proposed new transit system will be an earthquake-proof tube beneath San Francisco Bay that will be twice the length of any other underwater tube in the world. Plans call for lightweight rail cars, capable of traveling 80 miles an hour, to make the six-mile trip in eleven minutes (this time allows for slowdowns). Cost of the tube is placed at \$127,191,000 and it would link the two north-south parts of the rail system, which will run from San Rafael to Redwood City on the western (San Francisco) side of the bay and from Richmond to Hayward on the eastern (Oakland) side.

¹ As reported in the *New York Times* and the *Weekly Bond Buyer*.

Proposals for financing the entire transit project will not be on the ballot this year but have been postponed until the late summer of 1961.²

A report and description of the physical aspects of the system will be submitted to the 84 city councils and five county boards of supervisors so that final modifications may be made before formal ratification is requested.

Because of the transportation maze developing in the region, the Golden Gate Authority Commission has hired an economic consultant firm to study the financial and operational problems involved in putting all San Francisco Bay Area airports, ports and toll bridges under single management. The facilities involved are airports of San Francisco, Oakland and San Jose; seaports at San Francisco, Oakland, Redwood City, Richmond, Stockton and Sacramento; and the Golden Gate, Bay Bridge, San Mateo, Dumbarton, Richmond-San Rafael and Carquinez toll bridges.

Mississippi Rescinds 'Full Faith, Credit' for Counties

Mississippi's 82 counties face "sky-high" interest rates on any future road and bridge bonds they may issue. Worse, they may be unable to get any buyers at all for their bonds. Recent action by the Mississippi legislature precipitated the crisis. The legislators deleted from the state's laws the provision placing the full faith and credit of the state behind county bonds.

Without state backing, bondholders would have little recourse in the event of county defaults. Attorney General Joe T. Patterson has made public a letter from Charles and Trauernicht, the St. Louis bond firm which advises Mississippi on its bond transactions. The letter stated:

² See the REVIEW, September 1960, page 445.

As the bill now stands, the only promise the county could make to the bondholder would be to pay the bonds and interest out of any money the county might receive by way of state aid, but the state itself is under no contractual obligation whatever to see that state-aid money will be forthcoming.¹

Mississippi Governor Ross Barnett has said he is considering the possibility of calling a special session of the legislature, perhaps even before the November elections, in order to get legislative correction of the action.

Washington Cities Seek Share of State Sales Tax

Cities in the state of Washington are requesting a 5 per cent share of receipts from the state sales tax. Dick Taylor, president of the Association of Washington Cities, has disclosed plans to submit a proposal to this effect to the 1961 state legislature.

The state's 260 municipalities see no other way out of their present financial plight, he declared, as most of them have exhausted every other means of raising revenue now at their disposal.

Allocation of the tax receipts would be on a per capita basis. A similar system is now used to distribute the profits of the State Liquor Board among the state's cities and counties.

If necessary, the proposal may be submitted as an initiative petition in order to secure for the cities this estimated \$10 million a year revenue.

Milwaukee County Gets First Executive Budget

Milwaukee County Executive John L. Doyle has submitted the county's first "executive budget."

An executive budget is the system used by the federal government and the state of Wisconsin (and virtually all other

¹ As quoted in the *Weekly Bond Buyer*, August 8, 1960.

states). The chief executive—president, governor, county executive or mayor—of the governmental unit concerned submits the budget to its legislative body, which then reviews the document altering it as the representatives deem necessary. While the legislative body's just prerogative of altering the budget goes unchanged, the executive budget gives greater continuity to policy and the financial accounts of the government are enhanced by receiving scrutiny in an over-all perspective before the minutiae of detail swallows the forest in the trees.

Former Mayor Zeidler favored the executive budget for the city of Milwaukee but as yet it has not been instituted. The county will therefore be the first political unit in the region to make use of this budgetary system.

Milwaukee County formerly used a method whereby the individual county department budget requests were submitted to the county board. The board's finance committee then held hearings with the departments and submitted a tentative budget to the board for adoption.

The executive budget allows a far more programmatic approach to be taken toward the county's finances. This may be affected in Milwaukee County, however, by the fact that the county executive has no veto power and cannot challenge any board-inspired changes in the budget as could his federal or state counterpart.

Chicago Port District Plans Improvements

Nowhere in the world is there such a meeting of mass rail, air, truck, pipe line and water transportation as in Chicago. Now a world port, thanks to the St. Lawrence Seaway, Chicago is expanding its facilities to handle ocean-going vessels.

The Chicago Regional Port District has announced plans for \$45 million in additional improvements of the Lake

Calumet Port in the southern part of the city. These new facilities will include a \$15 million ocean ship wharf, a \$15 million tank farm and steel dock, a \$10 million grain elevator, and a \$5 million trucking terminal. A revenue bond issue of \$30 million will be made to cover the cost of all but the tank farm and steel dock, privately financed.

As yet the "world port" aspect of Chicago has not had the dramatic results at first predicted. First estimates claimed 500,000 new jobs by 1965 as a result of increased industry and commerce because of the city's new ocean port status. This figure has been cut to 38,000 jobs by 1965, according to the Chicago Association of Commerce and Industry and the state of Illinois.

Chicago is the ranking port of the Great Lakes; Detroit, Milwaukee and Cleveland follow in that order.

The future growth of the port is dependent largely upon continued expansion of the Lake Calumet and Calumet River facilities, though other ports do exist in the area. Nearby ports in Indiana could well have a promising future.

Voters Approve Oklahoma Industrial Authority

The voters of Oklahoma have approved creation of a State Industrial Finance Authority whose purpose will be to aid local communities seeking to attract new industry.

Oklahoma has been one of the few American states that have gone against the national population trend. In the decade of the '30s and again in the '40s the state actually lost population. The most recent census has disclosed an increase in population during the '50s, but the rate of growth has been far slower than that of the nation as a whole.

While there is no conclusive proof of a correlation between population growth and industrial development, there seems little doubt in the minds of Oklahomans

that the state's lack of industry has been one of the reasons for its citizens to move elsewhere.

The new authority will have a \$10 million revolving fund to be used in making loans to local industrial foundations up to 25 per cent of the cost of the enterprise with a maximum limit of \$500,000. The local foundations will be required to provide at least 25 per cent of the capital and the remaining 50 per cent may be raised through private financing.

The bonds of the authority are to be liquidated through repayment of these loans and from the interest charges made on them. Though no new taxes are required by the plan, tax revenues are guaranteed in payment of authority issues. The repayment of local loans will maintain the revolving fund.

Oklahoma's Governor Edmondson, the State Department of Commerce and Industry and various civic and business leaders strongly supported adoption of the program.

Texas Cities, Counties Hold Tax Line

Texas counties and cities generally maintained the same level of taxation throughout 1959 that they had used in 1958, according to the County Judges and Commissioners' Association of Texas and the Texas Municipal League.

Almost three-fifths—149—of the state's 254 counties left their tax rates unchanged. Seventy-one counties raised their rates in 1959 as opposed to tax raises by 54 in 1958. Thirty-four managed to reduce taxes.

Since 1957 two-thirds of Texas cities have kept their tax rates unchanged—the average rate being between \$1.00 and \$1.50. The medium sized municipalities (25,000 to 49,999) have been the most successful in meeting current demands at the present tax rate. Over 43 per cent of the smaller communities

(10,000 to 24,999) have found it necessary to increase taxes as have 42 per cent of the state's cities over 50,000 population. In communities below 10,000 almost one-third had to increase rates. Few Texas cities over 5,000 population are levying taxes at the constitutionally established maximum rate. However, 196 with 5,000 or less inhabitants are finding it necessary to set their rates at the legal maximum.

Virtually all the 500 or more cities surveyed by the Texas Municipal League reported debt of some kind. Sixty-one have a bonded debt in excess of one million dollars, including seven with a population of less than 10,000.

Closed TV for Bonds

The city council, city administrative staff, members of the Chamber of Commerce, members of the Citizens Bond Committee, school children and other public-spirited citizens participated on March 31 in a program explaining the series of eight capital improvement bond issues which were voted on April 12 in Anaheim, California. The program was presented simultaneously in all seventeen of the school district's elementary schools over its ultra-modern closed-circuit television system. The program was shown on scores of monitor screens in classrooms, research rooms and auditoriums. City Manager Keith Murdock termed the program "the most dramatic and effective way ever invented to reach and inform a whole city's population about issues of vital importance to all."

The effectiveness of the campaign may be gauged by the fact that seven of the eight bond issues were passed and the eighth fell only 65 votes short of the two-thirds vote necessary for adoption. The bonds approved were for improvements in the following fields: water, fire station, storm drains, electric, police building, street and library. A park site bond failed. Over \$11 million received the electorate's sanction.

Seattle League Has Golden Anniversary

Many Local Improvements Ascribed to Its Activity

THE year 1960 finds the Municipal League of Seattle and King County celebrating its 50th anniversary.

At its first annual meeting on May 22, 1911, C. J. France, an attorney and second league president, described the origin of the organization. It began in the fall of 1909 when seven or eight men met to discuss formation of a civic group. They gathered weekly to get better acquainted and to discuss city problems and how to remedy them. From time to time each man brought another person. This continued until March 1910 when the group numbered 30.

An organization meeting was planned for May 23, 1910, to be held at the Chamber of Commerce. Each of the 30 members of the original group invited ten others. Out of the 300 invitations issued, 120 attended.

(There had also been an earlier Municipal League which, according to its minutes, lasted only from 1894 to 1895.)

Today the league has grown to an organization of 4,300 members. According to its *Municipal News*, it "probably has rallied as many (or more) citizens to take an active and continuing part in watching their local public affairs as any other."

The league performs nine important services. As reported in *Municipal News* these are:

"1. It helps elect and retain good local public officials through its appraisal and reporting on candidates before each election.

"2. It helps improve local public serv-

ices by the continuous flow of its recommendations for betterments in city, county, school and port procedures from its numerous standing committees.

"3. It helps achieve balanced public budgets through its scrutiny of the proposed next year's spending and revenues of the city, county, school and port district.

"4. It stands sentinel duty over public affairs by having a staff representative at every meeting of the city council, county commissioners, port commissioners and school board. These watch for actions which may not be in the public interest as well as those which deserve support from citizens.

"5. It continually measures production of public services. It compares local per capita and other unit costs from year to year with those of sister cities in order to learn of progress or regression.

"6. It provides civic education for the community through its semi-monthly *Municipal News*, which is read by members and their families, by high school social science classes and by other citizens. Press releases, radio and television programs and talks by members of the Town Criers Committee also disseminate vital civic information to citizens.

"7. It aids many citizens who call with requests for help in getting information about public matters or with gripes which are investigated as to their validity.

"8. It gives potent support to public officials who are frustrated in putting over some meritorious project.

"9. It arouses apprehension among other officials who are deterred from trying to put over some improper deal through fear of discovery by the league."

At the league's board of trustees meeting in May E. L. Blaine, Jr., was chosen president. C. A. Crosser is executive secretary.

Ford Company Employees Urged to Get into Politics

In an effort to stimulate bipartisan interest in governmental affairs, Ford Motor Company has instituted a novel plan, the Ford Effective Citizenship Program, to encourage its employees to work for and financially support the political party of their choice. Meetings have been held in company locations throughout the country to explain the plan.

The new program provides employees an opportunity not only to learn the mechanics of this country's political system but also to volunteer for service with and to contribute financially to the party of their choice. The political training course, consisting of eight two-hour sessions to be held after working hours, and the party activity plan have been offered initially to supervisory employees.

Henry Ford II, company president, called the course an opportunity to "encourage our own employees to be increasingly active in the political party of their own choice."

In announcing the program, Allen W. Merrell, director of Ford's Civic and Governmental Affairs Office, said: "We want to encourage our employees to become active in their own political parties—not in any sense as agents of Ford Motor Company but in their own private capacities—as a citizenship responsibility. The basic reason underlying this phase of our civic and governmental affairs program is simply this: Government in the United States is the direct product of politics. Therefore, an effective way each of us can work for good government is by becoming active in our own political party."

The course consists of instruction in six basic subjects and two general meetings—one with local political leaders and the other covering political party and governmental organization in the community where the course is given.

Thomas R. Reid, civic and governmental affairs manager of the company and a regional vice president of the National Municipal League, said: "The purpose of the course is to provide practical information on the political processes through which government officials are selected under the two-party system."

"It is not a discussion of issues, nor is it propaganda for anybody's views about legislation," he added. "Rather it will provide an understanding of the processes and techniques of political party committees, conventions and election procedures in all levels of government."

Citizens of Memphis Organize

The Citizens Association of Memphis and Shelby County, Tennessee, was organized shortly after the city elections of 1959. It grew out of the activities of a group called "Dedicated Citizens Committee," which supported a "Unity Ticket" and elected its candidates for mayor and city commissioners.

The association adopted by-laws which provide that its objectives cannot be changed except by majority vote of the membership. These objectives are:

1. Appointment of a charter committee composed of representative citizens to study different forms of municipal government and recommend the best form for the city of Memphis subject to a vote by the people;
2. Consolidation of duplicate functions by the city and county;
3. Division of county school taxes and bond money on an average daily attendance basis or a consolidated city-county school system;
4. Annexation of adjacent built-up communities as rapidly as consistent with the desire of the communities and ability of our city to provide services;
5. Comprehensive planning for Shelby County as a whole;

6. Appointment of a representative citizens committee to review the laws governing the Memphis Light, Gas and Water Division and support of the necessary steps to obtain revisions in the existing laws if changes are recommended by the committee to insure the continued efficient management of this division;

7. Complete reappraisal of assessments;

8. Enactment of a "Little Hatch Act" and strengthening of our civil service commission within constitutional limitations.

Any resident of the county signing the membership pledge, which lists the eight objectives above, who is approved by the membership committee, may join the organization by payment of annual dues of five dollars.

Well ahead of the August 1960 elections, the association appointed a candidates committee which: (1) encouraged some well qualified candidates to run and (2) interviewed and questioned candidates for the state legislature, county court, county tax assessor and county trustee, to determine their qualifications and to what extent they would support the Citizens Association platform. A list of candidates was endorsed and assistance was provided in their campaigns. Thirteen of the eighteen endorsed were elected.

The association hopes to demonstrate that such a local group, working democratically on a nonpartisan basis, can make a contribution to the community by: Helping to create and maintain an alert and informed electorate; giving the individual citizen an opportunity to have an effective part in local government by joining with others; studying the needs of the community and the best ways to meet them; supporting only carefully selected objectives; encouraging well qualified people to offer themselves for public service; supporting elected officials in the proper discharge of their responsibilities.

'Get Out the Vote' Campaigns Continue

The American Heritage Foundation (11 West 42nd Street, New York 36), expanding its efforts to get out the vote, has issued a listing of all its materials—pamphlets, posters, records and jingles, and tags—which may be secured for citizenship campaigns. These have been developed as part of its national nonpartisan "register, vote on an informed basis and participate in your party" program.¹

To aid students coming of voting age, the College Service Committee of the Young Republican National Federation (1625 Eye Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.) has put out a compilation of the requirements of all the states regarding voting age, registration and absentee voting. The four-page mimeographed listing is called *Old Enough to Vote? Register in Time!*

In 1952 Philadelphia was given an award by the American Heritage Foundation for having the highest voter registration and turnout of any American city. This year the Nonpartisan Registration Committee is trying to reach the 250,000 Philadelphians who are eligible for voting but who are unregistered, to persuade them to take part in this year's elections. Facts and figures on the effort are recounted in the June-July issue of *Civic Affairs*, published by the Committee of Seventy, 1202 Land Title Building, Philadelphia 10.

The Bureau of National Affairs, 1231 24th Street, N. W., Washington 7, D. C., issued in July *Just One Vote*. Emphasizing the importance of voting, it recounts various instances in American history where one vote has made the difference—for instance, the states of California, Idaho, Oregon, Texas and Washington were admitted to the Union by a margin in Congress of "just one

¹See the REVIEW, July 1960, page 392.

vote." This eight-page pamphlet is available in two sizes—for mailings and for literature racks.

A.K.S.

Galveston Citizens Organize for Action

Interested citizens have formed a Citizens Charter Committee, whose purpose is "the promotion of a better local government for the city of Galveston under the procedures of the charter which was adopted . . . on April 19, 1960."

The committee has three hundred members and an active membership committee is at work. Membership is open to all upon payment of annual dues of \$2.00.

The charter committee is expected to endorse candidates for the election of councilmen in April 1961. The city council elected at that time will place the new charter in operation and select the first city manager.¹

President of the organization is Robert H. Albright, a member of the commission which drafted the new charter; Edward S. Shreiber, president of the charter commission, is vice president; Mrs. Lewis Harris, president of the League of Women Voters of Galveston and secretary of the charter commission, is secretary; and John Musick, labor leader, is treasurer.

Civic Birthday

Noting the thirteenth anniversary in June of the Lake County Civic League of Waukegan, Illinois, its first president,

¹ See the REVIEW, May 1960, pages 228 and 254; June 1960, pages 285 and 326.

Robert Ticken, now United States district attorney for the northern district of Illinois, pointed out: "The individual taxpayer has neither the time nor the talent to keep track of what is being done with his tax dollars. It was for this reason, back in 1947, that a group of public spirited Lake County citizens brought the Civic League into existence. . . . Despite every difficulty it has survived and become more influential in its dealings with elected public officials responsible for the spending of our tax dollars."

A.K.S.

LWV Publications

The League Looks at Boards and Commissions Serving New Orleans (20 pages, 25 cents), issued by the League of Women Voters of that city (545 St. Charles, New Orleans 12), briefly recaps the source of authority, functions, composition and funds for each of the many such groups.

In August the League of Women Voters of Louisiana (73 Neron Place, New Orleans 18) published *Public School Background Material. Louisiana School Problem: Segregation-Desegregation* (12 pages).

The League of Women Voters of Connecticut (404 Farmington Avenue, Hartford 5) included a study of the state court system as part of its current agenda. *Courts, Unfinished Business—The Family Court, The Probate Court* (February 1960, 35 pages, 35 cents) is a result of that study and presents the league's recommendations concerning those courts.

A.K.S.

Recent Research Treats Finance

Organizations in Four States Compile Reports

STATE and local finance has been a topic of consideration by research groups in Illinois, Wisconsin, Michigan and Pennsylvania.

The Illinois study, *Financing Illinois Government* by Glenn W. Fisher (Institute of Government and Public Affairs, University of Illinois, Urbana, 1960, 202 pages, \$3.00), is a survey of state finances over a seventeen-year period, 1942-1958. The author analyzes expenditure trends and patterns and general revenue, compares the tax burdens with those of other states and projects expenditures and revenue for the decade ahead.

He observes that "state expenditure per person is lower than in most other states," and that the increase in public spending recently is due almost entirely to growth in expenditures for education and highways. For revenue the state depends heavily upon consumption taxes. "Forty-three per cent of 1958 tax revenue came from the general sales tax." Relative to ability, the over-all burden of taxation is quite low.

Fisher's projections of expenditure and revenue show that the state does not necessarily need drastic tax increases. However, "increasing dissatisfaction with the inequitable and growing burdens imposed by the property tax could lead the state to assume a share of the total state and local tax load"; governmental services may also be stepped up from their relatively low level at present. If either of these possibilities occurs, the author doubts that the present tax structure will be able to provide the necessary revenue.

Alfred L. Edwards, of the Michigan State University Institute for Community Development and Services, examines an important ability of governmental units, the power to borrow funds, in *A Study of Local Government Debt in Michigan* (the institute, East Lansing, 1960, 59 pages, \$1.00). The focus is on patterns of borrowing, purposes of debt and the relation between indebtedness and economic resources.

The study concludes that the "debt of local governments in Michigan is not out of line with that of local governments in other states," and that "the increasing trend of local governments" in the state "to employ revenue bonds is likely to continue." "The rural areas in Michigan are becoming more urbanized and greater need has arisen for the public services and governmental functions that are required to sustain an urban area. Vital as these services are for the growth of communities, they are often costly. Usually, the only way they can be provided is to charge them against the future through some form of debt. Their financing calls for careful administration and management."

It is almost impossible, however, to determine with any amount of precision the amount of debt which a local government can safely incur. Observers of municipal borrowing policies "are less concerned with the amount of tax-supported debt that a locality incurs than with (1) the amount of such debt that is permitted to accumulate, (2) the purposes for which borrowing is undertaken, and (3) the forthrightness of plans for debt retirement."

The research on Wisconsin is concerned with *State-Local Financial Relationship: A Study of Shared Taxes and Aids in Wisconsin* (by Alan H. Smith, Bureau of Business and Eco-

nomie Research, Marquette University, Milwaukee, 1960, 75 pages). The report was prepared for the Revenue Sources and Distribution Committee of the Milwaukee Metropolitan Study Commission and is directed to local government problems within Milwaukee County.

Smith considers the nature of state payments to local governments, growth of specific state aid, the pattern of such aid in the country, distribution by counties of state aid in Wisconsin, the equalizing effect of specific grants, the effect of increasing local expenditure and ways of amending state aids. Both state-collected locally-shared taxes and grants-in-aid toward expenditures are included in the study's purview.

Fiscal Problems of Pennsylvania State and Local Governments: How to Reduce Present Costs and to Find New Revenue Sources (Institute of Public Administration, Pennsylvania State University, University Park, 1960, 197 pages, \$1.50) is a collection of papers presented at the Annual (Pennsylvania) Finance Officers Workshop in October 1959, sponsored by the institute.

The speeches are categorized under the following headings: proposals to revise Pennsylvania's constitution, the commonwealth's fiscal dilemma, finding new sources of state revenue, reducing the operating costs of state and local governments, new sources of local revenue, improving tax assessment and collection, budgeting and financing capital expenditures, and financing the rebuilding of Pennsylvania's boroughs and cities.

Consider Michigan's Apportionment Problem

Herbert Garfinkel and L. J. Fein, authors of *Fair Representation: A Citizen's Guide to Legislative Apportionment in Michigan* (Bureau of Social and Political Research, Michigan State University, East Lansing, 1960, 32 pages), have succeeded admirably in presenting

an impartial view of the current apportionment controversy in their state. They give the theoretical, historical and political arguments for population—and geography-based representation.

Some of the facts brought out by the pamphlet, however, would seem to favor the proponents of at least a partial change to apportionment based on population. According to 1950 census figures, 27.2 per cent of the voters elect 51 per cent of the senators; thus the Democratic party, with 53 per cent of the vote in the 1958 elections, secured only twelve senators out of 34, or 35 per cent. In the same election while the lower house was evenly divided the governor was a Democrat, as has been the case for the last twelve years. With neither party in clear control of the legislature and the governor's mansion, governmental ineffectiveness reached its height last year when the state was unable to meet its payroll because of a tax dispute.

Solutions are being sought through the courts, a constitutional convention and an initiative to revise the constitutional apportionment clause. Changes suggested include the addition of more Senate seats, perhaps to accommodate senators at large, the weighting of senatorial votes, a complete reapportionment of the Senate on a population basis, creation of a unicameral legislature and granting the lower house the right to override the Senate's veto on legislation.

A.K.S.

Colorado LWV Describes Local Units

Colorado's League of Women Voters has released the first of two studies on the structure of the various governmental subdivisions in the state. *Cooperation or Confusion?* (April 1960, 46 pages, 50 cents) is a careful, analytical report.

After broadly outlining the major problems of local units and describing the subdivisions' functioning, the pam-

phlet presents a detailed study of counties, municipalities, school districts and special districts. The organization and major functions of each group is discussed along with the advantages and disadvantages of their present structure, operation, financial practices and sources of revenue.

Improvements and reforms are advocated for all but school districts. The reorganization of school districts (primarily consolidation thus cutting the total number to approximately one-fourth their present number) is described.

Major emphasis is placed on the various governmental units' relationships to one another and methods of cooperation which can be promoted to end the confusion which frequently prevails.

The second study in the series will deal more specifically with the problems of metropolitan and urbanized areas.

W.J.D.B.

U. S. Chamber Publishes Community Series

The Chamber of Commerce of the United States has published a Community Development Series which includes seven pamphlets on various areas of community concern. Problem-solving tools available for community use are suggested as well as procedures for developing special programs.

Copies of individual pamphlets may be purchased at 50 cents each or \$3.00 for the set from the chamber, 1615 H Street, N.W., Washington 6, D.C.

The numbers and titles of the pamphlets are:

- I. *Balanced Community Development* (36 pages),
- II. *Community Analysis: Foundation for Decision Making* (35 pages),
- III. *Comprehensive Planning: Guide for Community Growth and Change* (32 pages),
- IV. *Planning Urban Renewal Projects* (45 pages),

V. *Modernizing Local Government* (32 pages),

VI. *Financing Community Development* (35 pages),

VII. *Community Leadership: Key to Local Development* (34 pages).

Compiles List of Research Bureaus

Gale Research Company has compiled another organizational guide, *Directory of University Research Bureaus and Institutes* Book Tower, Detroit 26, 1960, 199 pages, \$20). "Those bureaus, institutes, experiment stations, laboratories and other organizations which conform to the following definition have been included: 'A university- or college-sponsored unit set up on a permanent basis, carrying on a continuing research program and formally identified by a specific or distinctive title.'"

The research bodies are categorized into seventeen broad functional areas such as education, social sciences, labor and industrial relations, conservation, mathematics and physical sciences.

Each of the 1500 listings includes the name of the research organization and the university with which it is affiliated, address and founding date, name and title of the bureau head, size of staff, description of the program, and name and frequency of any serial publications.

Two appendices provide lists of university presses and members of the newly organized National Council of Research Administrators.

Kentucky's Constitutions

Kentucky's Constitutional Development (Kentucky Legislative Research Commission, Frankfort, 1960, 20 pages) discusses the four constitutions the state has had, general aspects of the present one, the amending procedure, and current revision plans.

A limited constitutional convention has been proposed by the legislature, an issue on which the people will vote in

November. The pamphlet lists the time schedule for the call and organization of the convention.

Texas Suffrage, Elections

The Arnold Foundation has released the second monograph of its series on the major provisions of the Texas constitution, *Suffrage and Elections* by W. E. Benton (Southern Methodist University, Dallas, 1960, 54 pages, \$1.00). The series is edited by John M. Claunch.

Mr. Benton analyzes the nature of suffrage, its development in Texas, and suggests issues which constitutional drafters might consider. Included is a proposed suffrage and elections article.

Federal Grants to States

"In an analysis of state revenues and expenditures, it is necessary to have some understanding of federal grants-in-aid and their impact on the state financial system. The importance of federal grants in state government finance is indicated by the fact that in 1958 almost one-fourth of the total state revenue in the United States was derived from federal aid," begins William M. Griffin in *Federal Grants-in-Aid in South Dakota* (Governmental Research Bureau, State University of South Dakota, Vermillion, 1959, 51 pages).

After discussing such topics as constitutional authority for grants-in-aid and the arguments for and against grants, the author concludes: "During the past twenty years federal aid to South Dakota has become one of the largest and most stable sources of state revenue. Important functions of the state government are dependent upon continuation of federal funds for effective administration. . . . Since the state is currently anticipating the need for additional revenue, a sudden drastic reduction of federal grants-in-aid would result in great financial difficulty for South Dakota."

Voting Manual Revised

The Institute of Public Affairs of the State University of Iowa has published a revision of *Voting in Iowa*, by George B. Mather with illustrations by Dale Ballantyne (Iowa City, 1960, 88 pages, 50 cents). Originally planned as an aid to election officials, the first edition was used extensively in high school classes, by the political parties in their volunteer workshops and by such groups as the League of Women Voters and 4-H clubs in their civic education workshops. The present edition incorporates suggestions and new laws concerning voting in all types of elections and the organization of political parties in Iowa.

A.K.S.

Research Bibliographies

Of interest to those engaged in various phases of government research is a new series being prepared and distributed by the Tax Foundation entitled *Research Bibliography*. The foundation plans to issue one or two of these bibliographies every two months, each listing selective sources on particular topics.

Those which have been compiled are: No. 1, *Tax and Other Financial Inducements to Industrial Location*; No. 2, *Comparative Analyses of State Tax Burdens*; and No. 3, *Financing Municipal Government* (three, six and thirteen pages, respectively).

Copies may be procured from the foundation, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, New York.

Strictly Personal

Robert J. M. O'Hare, formerly town manager of Stoughton, Massachusetts, resigned in September to become executive director of the Seminar Research Bureau at Boston College. He will direct economic and governmental research on the Boston metropolitan area and plan seminars on a wide variety of topics.

Books in Review

Seasongood Speeches

SELECTIONS FROM SPEECHES (1900-1959) OF MURRAY SEASONGOOD. Compiled with Foreword and Head Notes by Agnes Seasongood. Alfred A. Knopf, 501 Madison Avenue, New York, 1960. xiii, 271 pp. \$4.50.

Sounds dull and would be, if Murray Seasongood were ever dull!

But you can save wear and tear on your facial muscles if you settle to an expectant grin in readiness for the flashes of mordant wit that dance incessantly across the utterances of this happy warrior. The excerpts are brief and pointed and range through a long lifetime during which the pungency which he could so fluently adduce for many causes was in unfailing demand.

Thus collected they constitute biography, the high points of the career of a man who had the authority and self-confidence to pioneer and the skill to enlist others in public affairs over six decades. In type the excerpts lose little by the absence of his platform presence. For his manner of delivery, without loss of power, was commonly placid and underemphasized but unmistakably earnest, and it was the sharpness of his statements that made citizens boil and adversaries writhe.

Some of the excerpts are obviously included for the chuckle, some for their originality and perception—it is just like him to propose abolition of notaries public. And some are like the speech to the Cincinnati Association, October 9, 1923, which startled the town by the aptness of its accusations against the corruption in city hall and launched the cleanup that made him mayor and made his city the best governed in the country for 34 years. The justification for the rescue of that item from the newspaper files of the day is the courage it took at that time to say it, courage he shared with other pioneer figures in that era

whom current Cincinnatians seem almost to have forgotten. There were giants in those days!

R.S.C.

New York Politics

GOVERNING NEW YORK CITY. Politics in the Metropolis. By Wallace S. Sayre and Herbert Kaufman. Russell Sage Foundation, 505 Park Avenue, New York 22, 1960. xviii, 815 pp. \$8.50.

This fine study has as its central focus the decision-making process as it takes place in our largest city. The authors see politics as a contest for the shaping of public policy to fit the wants of those who become involved. They seek to answer a number of questions: Who are the participants in the political contest? What prizes do they receive for winning? What are the strategies used by the contestants as they seek victory?

The authors describe the actors as including office-seekers, party officials, interest group leaders, bureaucrats, editors, underworld leaders and others. The prizes include, of course, public office. But they also involve such varied by-products of the political struggle as the ability to shape public policy to suit the wants of a particular group, control over the size and allocation of the budget, framing of the formal (legal) rules of politics to the advantage or disadvantage of particular groups, getting a favorable hearing in court and easy access to decision-makers.

The section on strategies is perhaps the most imaginative part of the book in terms of organization, for within the context of a discussion of the many strategies available to contestants, the authors interweave in interesting fashion the potentially dull details of the rules for nomination and election, for election administration, for appointment and removal, for the administrative organization of municipal agencies, for intergov-

ernmental relations (including an excellent development of the possible choices of the arena—the courts, the mayor, the governor, the federal bureaucracy, etc.—that the participant may choose as the scene of battle), for party organization, for interest group and bureaucratic activity and for a thousand other details.

The battlefields are carefully described as are the rules of warfare that contestants must abide by. The scenes of struggle include elections, agencies of government, courts, council, board of estimate and the mayor. The section on the courts is the best description I have read of a local judicial system in its political context.

* * *

The analytical framework helps make possible insights that one ordinarily neither expects nor finds in a study of a single city or state. We learn, for example, why a police commissioner is more likely to be able to influence the policies of his department than is a fire commissioner, why the board of estimate is a powerful conservative force, why the mayor is not likely to be the leader of that body, why the professional bureaucracies are in most areas more powerful than is Tammany Hall, and why the city council plays an almost negligible role in the allocation of awards.

The bibliography is comprehensive and is nicely broken down into categories. The over-all quality of the work is high. There is no study of the great city to compare with it. The authors have done an enormous amount of research and have carefully marshalled data gathered by others. Yet they are by and large accurate when they describe the volume as "a set of propositions and hypotheses about the government and politics of the city." Much of the theoretical framework is fully developed, some of it barely sketched—graduate students for decades should find ideas here that will serve as the basis for research within a nicely defined frame of reference.

Setting aside a slight feeling of annoyance at the length of the book, I would make but two major criticisms of it: First, although the authors certainly did not abandon their responsibility to be alert critics, some of us out in the boondocks are likely to wonder if they did not let their final evaluation of politics in the monster metropolis be lightly brushed by Pollyanna. I am glad to learn that "any group can fight city hall," that "almost every group does," and that "many are remarkably effective." I cannot help wondering, however, if these two lovers of Gotham were not a bit too anxious to show that the system is essentially equitable. Recent studies in large cities—Boston, Philadelphia and, indeed, New York (see the *Nation*, October 31, 1959)—indicate that the residents of these communities have a strong sense of isolation from the political process, an ominous feeling of alienation.

This leads me to a second concern: Although voting statistics are carefully presented, voter turnout and apathy analyzed, and attention paid to the question of who is favored by these patterns, no inquiry is made as to whether the citizens of the city feel that its government is *their* government, whether they feel they can influence it, whether they are cynical about it or view it as a living testimonial to the democratic process.

These questions of citizen confidence levels, of identification with municipal government, are vitally important, possibly more important than the facts on how the government is actually run, for they are a measure of the health of democracy.

But the analytical framework did not comfortably allow for this type of inquiry and we could not expect the authors to tell us everything that might be learned by every research technique. The study, on balance, must surely be rated a masterful job and one that makes a fine contribution, not alone to an understand-

ing of decision-making in a great city but to a broad theory of politics.

CHARLES R. ADRIAN
Michigan State University

Courts

IMPROVING OUR COURTS. Collected Studies on Judicial Administration. By Sheldon D. Elliott. Published for the Institute of Judicial Administration. Oceana Publications, 80 Fourth Avenue, New York, 1959. 190 pages. \$1.85.

In this compact pamphlet Dr. Elliott, director of the Institute of Judicial Administration, condenses his best thinking on this subject and all the progress accumulated since the late Justice Arthur T. Vanderbilt founded the institute in 1952. He provides a backward look to Roscoe Pound's famous address of 1906 which started ferment in the American Bar Association and puts the reader in step with current efforts by assembling his own annual reviews of 1952-58.

The volume provides the logical starting point for any inquirer into the field.

W. B. Munro

WILLIAM BENNETT MUNRO 1875-1957. A Memoir by Harvey Eagleson. California Institute of Technology, Pasadena, 1959. 41 pp.

This handsome brochure happily and thoughtfully assembles the story of this famous Harvard pioneer in political science, whose courses inspired the next generation of teachers from coast to coast. He retired from teaching in 1945 and spent his later years in Pasadena in continued usefulness at "Caltech." His associates there are responsible for this tasteful testimonial. We of the National Municipal League enjoyed his cooperation on many a League activity in the teens and twenties. We remember him on the committee which in 1915 swung the League's *Model City Charter* to the council-manager plan as well as in other

creative enterprises where his scholarship gave weight and confidence to pioneer findings that have since become orthodox.

R.S.C.

Citizenship

CITIZENSHIP TODAY—ENGLAND, FRANCE, THE UNITED STATES. By D. W. Brogan. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1960. viii, 116 pp. \$3.00.

This compact volume containing Mr. Brogan's speeches for the Weil Lectures on American Citizenship of the University of North Carolina, though it deals with one of the most complex and emotion-ridden concepts in political science today, sets forth clearly and concisely the varying definitions of "citizenship" today. By tracing historical antecedents and the social definitions of the idea in each country covered, Mr. Brogan demonstrates how it signifies widely differing attitudes, rights and duties.

A.K.S.

Additional Books And Pamphlets

(See also *Researcher's Digest* and other departments)

Accounting

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SIXTH GOVERNMENTAL ACCOUNTING AND FINANCE INSTITUTE. Institute of Public Affairs, University of Texas, Austin, 1960. 57 pp.

Adult Education

THE CONCERN OF LOCAL AUTHORITIES WITH ADULT EDUCATION AND SPORT. A Comparative Study. By International Union of Local Authorities. Martinus Nijhoff, 9 Lange Voorhout, The Hague, Netherlands, 1960. xii, 242 pp. 14 guilders.

Civil Liberties

THE SEESAW BETWEEN FREEDOM AND POWER. By Robert K. Carr. (Edmund

J. James Lecture on Government Delivered March 17, 1960.) Department of Political Science, University of Illinois, Urbana, June 1960. 24 pp.

Community Development

METROPOLITAN AREA AND CITY SIZE PATTERNS OF MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES 1954. A Research Tool for Community Development Groups in Urban and Rural Areas Based on a Special Tabulation of the 1954 Census of Manufactures. Office of Area Development, Business and Defense Services Administration, U. S. Department of Commerce, Washington 25, D. C., 1959. 91 pp. Tables. 50 cents. (Apply Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.)

Construction

CONSTRUCTION—PUBLIC WORKS' CONTRACTORS' BONDS AND OTHERS. By Ernest H. Campbell and Joshua H. Vogel. Association of Washington Cities in cooperation with the Bureau of Governmental Research and Services, University of Washington, Seattle 5, 1960. 94 pp.

Debt

DIRECTORY OF MUNICIPAL BOND DEALERS OF THE UNITED STATES. *The Bond Buyer*, 67 Pearl Street, New York 4, 1960. 300 pp. \$10.

FUNDAMENTALS OF MUNICIPAL BONDS. Investment Bankers Association of America, 425 13th Street, N. W., Washington 4, D. C., 1959. x, 149 pp. Illus.

MARKETING CANADIAN DEBENTURES. By Lactance Roberge. Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, 1313 East 60th Street, Chicago 37, July 16, 1960. 6 pp. 75 cents.

Delinquency

DELINQUENCY CONTROL AND PREVENTION TRAINING FOR POLICE OFFICERS. Digest of Findings. Research and Advisory Service, Bureau of Government, University Extension Division, University of Wisconsin, Madison, December 1959. 7 pp.

University of Wisconsin, Madison, December 1959. 7 pp.

Education

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INDUSTRY'S ROLE IN METROPOLITAN GROWTH: A PUBLIC MANAGEMENT PROBLEM. (Reprinted from *California Management Review*, Winter 1960.) By James Gillies. Real Estate Research Program, Division of Research, Graduate School of Business Administration, University of California, Los Angeles, 1960. 9 pp. Tables.

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THE GOVERNMENT OF THE CITY OF CHICAGO. A Guide to Its Structure and Function with a Directory of Officers. By Richard J. Wolfert. Municipal Reference Library, City Hall, Chicago 2, July 1960. 44 pp. 15 cents.

MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION IN AMERICA. By Jewell Cass Phillips. The Macmillan Company, 60 Fifth Avenue, New York, 1960. viii, 648 pp. \$6.95.

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THE PUBLIC PERSONNEL AGENCY AND THE CHIEF EXECUTIVE—A Symposium. Edited by Thomas Page. Public Personnel Association, 1313 East 60th Street, Chicago 37, 1960. 44 pp. \$2.50.

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THE MASTER PLAN UNMASKED. Defects and Failings of Rural Planning as Shown by an Evaluation of the New Milford Master Plan. By Frederick Shulman. New Milford Citizens Committee, New Milford, Connecticut, January 1960. 87 pp. \$1.00. (25 cents to town residents.)

Public Health

ADMINISTERING HEALTH SERVICES IN MARYLAND. Report of the Subcommittee on Policies and Financing of Maryland's Medical and Hospital Programs. Committee on Medical Care, Maryland State Planning Commission, State Office Building, Baltimore 1, June 1960. 165 pp. \$1.00.

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PUBLIC NOTICES. Timing and Content. Planning Division, Connecticut Development Commission, Hartford, June 1960. 10 pp.

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THE URBAN REAL ESTATE CYCLE—PERFORMANCES AND PROSPECTS. By Homer Hoyt. Urban Land Institute, 1200 18th Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C., 1960. 16 pp. \$2.00.

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REAPPORTIONMENT BY INITIATIVE IN OREGON. By Gordon E. Baker. Reprinted from *The Western Political Quarterly*, Institute of Government, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, June 1960. 12 pp.

Records

AUTOMATED RECORDS. By William J. Jacquette and Howard W. Ward, Jr. Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, 1313 East 60th Street, Chicago 37, August 16, 1960. 12 pp. Charts. \$1.00.

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A GUIDE TO BOOKS ON RECREATION. *Recreation* (Part II), National Recreation Association, 8 West Eighth Street, New York 11, September 1960. 31 pp.

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A SELECTIVE SUBJECT INDEX. PAR Research 1951-1959. Compiled by Dora

M. Beard. Public Affairs Research Council of Louisiana, P. O. Box 2748, Baton Rouge 1, April 1960. 40 pp.

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INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION FOR SOCIAL WELFARE—A NEW REALITY. Edited by Hertha Kraus. *The Annals*, The American Academy of Political and Social Science, 3937 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia 4, May 1960. viii, 153 pp. \$2.00.

State Government

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CAPITOL, COURTHOUSE AND CITY HALL. Readings in American State and Local Government. (Second Edition.) Edited by Robert L. Morlan. Houghton-Mifflin Company, 2 Park Street, Boston, 1960. viii, 348 pp. \$3.50.

Street Cross-Sections

NOTES ON STREET CROSS-SECTIONS IN RESIDENTIAL SUBDIVISIONS. By Allen Benjamin. *Urban Land*, Urban Land Institute, 1200 18th Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C., May 1960. 4 pp. \$1.00.

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SOUTHERN STATES NEW REVENUE POTENTIALS. By James W. Martin and Kenneth E. Quindry. Southern Regional Education Board, Atlanta, March 1960. 32 pp.

STATE AID TO LOCAL GOVERNMENT. A Brief Description of the Current Types of Financial Assistance Showing Purpose, Methods of Apportionment, Statutory Citations and Trends in Amounts Distributed. Bureau of Statistical Services, Division of Municipal Affairs, New York State Department of Audit and Control, Albany, July, 1960. 68 pp. Tables.

UNSETTLED QUESTIONS IN REAL ES-

TATE TAXATION. By Mabel Walker. *Tax Policy*, Tax Institute, 457 Nassau Street, Princeton, New Jersey, June 1960. 4 pp. 25 cents.

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ELEMENTS OF GOVERNMENT. An Introduction to Political Science. By Thomas R. Adam. Random House, 457 Madison Avenue, New York 22, 1960. x, 468 pp. Illus. \$6.75.

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DICTIONARY OF HIGHWAY TRAFFIC. By J. Stannard Baker and William R. Stebbins, Jr. Traffic Institute, Northwestern University, 1804 Hinman Avenue, Evanston, Illinois, 1960. xv, 304 pp. Charts.

THE POLICE TRAFFIC CONTROL FUNCTION. By Paul B. Weston. Charles C. Thomas, Publisher, 301-327 East Lawrence Avenue, Springfield, Illinois, 1960. ix, 301 pp.

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BETTER URBAN TRANSPORTATION. Proceedings of the American Municipal Congress 1959. American Municipal Association, 1612 K Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C., 1960. 105 pp.

Unemployment

THE IMPACT OF UNEMPLOYMENT IN THE 1958 RECESSION. A Report of Nation-wide Surveys of Unemployment, Unemployment Insurance and Attitudes of the Unemployed. Prepared for the Special Committee on Unemployment Problems, United States Senate, by The Survey Research Center, University of Michigan, by Wilbur J. Cohen, William Haber and Eva Mueller. U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., June 1960. 79 pp. Tables, charts.

Utilities

PUBLIC REGULATION OF UTILITY ENTERPRISE. New York Chamber of Com-

merce, 65 Liberty Street, New York 5, May 1960. 39 pp.

Water

FLORIDA'S LAKES: PROBLEMS IN A WATER PARADISE. (Reprinted from *University of Florida Law Review*.) By Frank E. Maloney and Sheldon J. Plager. Public Administration Clearing Service, University of Florida, Gainesville, 1960. 82 pp. \$1.00.

Water Works

MUNICIPAL WATER WORKS OPERATING DATA FOR TENNESSEE. By W. T. Chaffin and M. U. Snoderly. Municipal Technical Advisory Service, Division of University Extension, University of Tennessee, in cooperation with the Tennessee Municipal League, Knoxville, May 1960. 26 pp.

Yearbook

1959 COUNTY YEARBOOK. North Carolina Association of County Commissioners, Chapel Hill, 1960. 440 pp.

Zoning

SIMPLIFIED ZONING FOR SMALL COMMUNITIES. Planning Division, Connecticut Development Commission, Hartford, June 1960. 6 pp.

ZONING PRIMER. By Martin J. Rody and Herbert H. Smith. Chandler-Davis Publishing Company, P. O. Box 36, West Trenton, New Jersey, 1960. 48 pp. \$1.00. (Discounts on quantity orders.)

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

(Continued from page 503)

certain factions, on the November ballot.

The committee was appointed by Mayor Robert L. Bartels. It included representatives of the various interests in the community. Other matters regarding the council on which it took action were in-

creases in salaries and date of taking office.

N. E. A. Rejects Preferential Voting

At its annual convention in Los Angeles in June the National Education Association debated and rejected by a close vote of 2,563 to 2,256 a rule amendment on elections proposed by its by-laws and rules committee. This amendment would have prescribed preferential voting with a single transferable vote for future elections of its president-elect and treasurer by its representative assembly and the corresponding system of proportional representation for the assembly's annual election of two members of the executive committee.

Although an explanation with a sample election had been distributed to all the delegates, the debate showed that there was still a considerable amount of misunderstanding of the proposal.

Its main purpose had been to avoid the possibility of electing a president-elect (who assumes the presidency automatically after one year as vice president) by less than a majority of delegates in a three-way split.

After the rule change (which would not have taken effect until 1961) had been voted down, this actually happened, for the first time in many years. The vote for president-elect was:

Ewald Turner of Oregon	1905
Forest Rozzell of Arkansas	1685
William O'Donnell of New Mexico	1278

This, of course, illustrated the advantage of the proposal. It is quite possible that Mr. Turner was preferred by a majority to his nearest rival but if so his position would be stronger under an election method which proved it. As it is, no one will ever know.

Tours Planned for Conference-goers

(Continued from page 461)

Sunday afternoon and evening. Tuesday evening at the fabulous Mountain Shadows resort in nearby Paradise Valley there will be a program including cock-tails, poolside dinner, gay Spanish dances and music, and ritualistic dances performed by Indians precisely as they were centuries ago on the Arizona mesas.

The Dons Club, founded 30 years ago to preserve the romance and beauty of the area, consists of business and professional men—architects, bankers, contractors, doctors, engineers and a service station owner.

Steeped in the historical and geological lore of the region, the Dons are virtually inexhaustible founts of information. In action, they wear the costumes of the Spanish grandees.

Conference Speakers

(Continued from page 462)

in finding his way out of the dilemma. Stress will be laid upon the importance of clarifying goals—the common goals that unify and strengthen our system as a whole and the special goals that give meaning and vitality to its several parts.

Luther H. Gulick, president of the Institute of Public Administration, will discuss "Goals for Metropolis" and James K. Pollock, University of Michigan, vice chairman of the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, "Goals for Cooperative Federalism." Frank C. Moore, former lieutenant governor of New York, will chair this discussion. At each of the general sessions, the speakers will be joined by a panel of interrogators who will lead the discussion period.

The Conference program will also in-



Don E. O. Foster looking over one of the spectacular natural formations which abound in the Phoenix area.

clude a series of workshops dealing with practical questions which face both public officials and citizens. The workshops include:

- Citizen Associations and Regional Problems,
- Reapportionment after the 1960 Census,
- Cities Grow by Annexation,
- The Modern County,
- The Businessman as Politician,
- Citizen Advisory Boards,
- The Manager Reports to the Citizens,
- Constitutional Debt and Tax Limits:
- A Critique,
- Local Teamwork: City-County Cooperation.

A special series of Conference workshops on state constitutions is scheduled as part of the League's Constitutional Studies Program. Two will be of interest to citizens from states facing the problem of constitutional revision—"State Constitutions: Salient Issues" and "State Constitutions: How to Study Them."

A special session is being planned for Wednesday afternoon in cooperation

(Continued on next page)

All-America Entries Scanned

Twenty-two communities will be chosen in early October as finalists in the All-America Cities contest, co-sponsored by the National Municipal League and *Look* Magazine. Selection of the finalists will be made by a screening committee of civic leaders composed of:

Chairman, Bayard H. Faulkner, former mayor, Montclair, New Jersey; Brendan Byrne, executive director, American Heritage Foundation; Betty L. Knox, member, City Council, Hartford, former president, Hartford League of Women Voters; George H. Deming, director, Conference on Metropolitan Area Problems; and Allen H. Seed, Jr., executive vice president, Keep America Beautiful.

Spokesmen representing the finalists will be invited to present their cases before the All-America Cities jury on November 14 and 15 during the 66th National Conference on Government in Phoenix, Arizona.

The jury, headed by George H. Gallup, director of the American Institute of Public Opinion and former president of the National Municipal League, will hear the spokesmen in two sessions, selecting from the 22 the eleven-member All-America "team."

Other members of the jury will be: Winston W. Crouch, director, Bureau of Governmental Research, University of California, Los Angeles; Mrs. Grady Gammage, president of Arizona State Division, American Association of University Women; Miss Fannie Hardy, president, National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs; Willard V. Merrihue, manager, Community and Business Relations, General Electric Company, and chairman of the board, Effective Citizens Organization.

Also, James Mussatti, general manager, California State Chamber of Commerce, and president, American Chamber of Commerce Executives Association; James M. Osborn, Yale University; Mrs. E. Lee Ozbirn, president, General Federation of Women's Clubs; Martin C. Tate, president-elect Department of Elementary School Principals, National Education Association; Arnold S. Zander, international president, American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees; Mrs. Robert Zurbach, former president, California League of Women Voters.

The names of the finalists will appear in next month's *REVIEW*. Winners of the contest will be announced early in 1961 in the *REVIEW* and in *Look* Magazine.

And Do It Early!

Those planning to attend the Phoenix Conference should communicate directly with the Hotel Westward Ho, Conference headquarters, to make room reservations.

Seasongood Reappointed

Murray Seasongood, a former president of the League, has been reappointed a member of the Committee to Visit the Department of Government of Harvard University.

Conference Speakers

(Continued from previous page)

with Arizona universities. This session will be called "A Critique of Cooperative Federalism" and will involve the participation of Arizona students interested in state and local government.

A Guide for Charter Commissions

Revised Edition

Prepared by a National Municipal League committee of authorities, this pamphlet meets a long felt need for a pattern of action to increase the effectiveness of charter drafters.

A Guide for Charter Commissions outlines the problem clearly, sets forth the basic needs and specific steps which should be taken, warns against common mistakes and pitfalls and lists helpful materials and sources.

It is used by virtually all charter commissions. It is an essential companion to the *Model City Charter*.

Typical comment from a city of 200,000:
"Your document is most helpful to a bewildered charter commission member."

1960, 48 pages, \$1.00

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The Truth Is Out

University institutes of government and other local authorities from 50 states have supplied parallel facts, figures and appraisals of the condition and effects on the democratic process of their distributions of legislative and congressional seats as compared with the principle of majority rule and equality of representation. (This is a background research document, not an official League publication.)

Compendium on Legislative Apportionment

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3. THE FUTURE ROLE OF THE STATES
4. A MANUAL FOR STATE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTIONS
5. HOW TO STUDY A STATE CONSTITUTION

(The above will be issued various dates, February to May, 1961.)

SERIES II

(Now Available)

1. STATE CONSTITUTIONS: THE SHAPE OF THE DOCUMENT
by Robert B. Dishman, \$1.50
2. STATE CONSTITUTIONS: REAPPORTIONMENT
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